PERSONAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES IN THE GUPTA INSCRIPTIONS

Personal and Geographical Names in the Gupta Inscriptions

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IN THE MEMORY OF
MY MOTHER
LATE SHRIMATI SHAHNI DEVI

Foreword

'What is there in a name?' There is definitely much more in a name than may appear to be the case on a superficial survey. Names may appear to be quite casual, so much so that the man bearing them has hardly any say in the matter. We find some people adopting new names or adding aliases. In many cases the name does not have any equation with the personal qualities of the man concerned. The titles assumed by a man may reflect something of his inner personality, his ambitions, and his emotional complexes; the epithets bestowed by others, if not created by greedy flatterers, reveal his assessment in the eyes of others. Whereas the surnames may often depend on the accident of birth in a given family or a social group, the personal names are labelled long before any of the recognisable attributes begin to emerge. The story of names would have assumed a highly romantic colour if the names had been assumed by people and had not been thrust upon them.

The names may not reveal the man, but they do provide penetrating peeps into his family, his society and his times. The name-patterns have a vital connexion with the social realities and cultural values of the group to which they belong. There is a distinct individuality in them and they reflect in a microscopic miniature the traditions and values of the people concerned. Poeple do not take to names in as casual a manner as they are sometimes taken to do. Of all the people the Indians seem to show a much serious concern for the question of names and to have set down definite rules governing their formation. These rules are not mere grammatical ones to cover the linguistic forms of the names. There are prescriptive norms and prohibitive rules in accordance with the socio-cultural traditions and the advancements made in various fields of knowledge. Not many

nations of antiquity can claim a parallel progress in this area of culture. These elaborate rules did not result merely from the typically Indian genius for systematisation and elaboration of its fund of knowledge in all spheres. It arose out of a conscious appreciation of the significance of names and their great relevance for the cultural traditions. The rules about names prescribed in the grammatical works and the Gṛhyasūtras and the Smṛtis were elaborated in subsequent times and led to the composition of separate treatises on various aspects and problems connected with the giving of names.

The names can provide a reliable clue to the understanding of the socio-cultural life. They can serve as a barometer for recording the historical realities of culture in a particular period. A study of the name-patterns can be a useful measuring rod for a historian; but, it has been rarely used. A name can reveal the personal equipment of the bestowing parents and also their emotional concern for their child. Above all, it tells us about the gods and goddesses and their comparative popularity, the religious ideas and beliefs current among the people, the social structure and the differences in the various social groups, and the realities of the linguistic phenomenon. In view of the elaborate rules about the grammatical, astronomical, religious and social considerations, an analysis of the pattern of names in different historical periods can give us a vital indication of the extent to which the traditional rules were respected and of the influences which were introducing changes in the traditional beliefs and systems.

Considering the rich possibilities in a historical and comparative analysis of the name-patterns, it is surprising indeed that, with a few singular exceptions, historians have not paid to this area of study the serious attention it deserves. Obviously this type of study is more demanding in respect of the disciplines involved. The historian, who undertakes the work, has to possess a comprehensive knowledge of different aspects of an ancient society. He has to combine a knowledge of Sanskrit grammar and linguistics with a proficiency in palaeography and competence to handle the original texts bearing on the subject. Happily Dr. Tej Ram Sharma, one of my early research scholars, assiduously cultivated the qualities and acquired the

necessary command over the concerned disciplines. It is gratifying to find that Dr. Sharma has produced a first-rate study on the subject and has covered himself up with glory.

The study of the Gupta period of Indian history has been enriched by the contributions of many a competent scholar. But, without there being any significant addition to the original sources, some of the many publications have only been reproducing already well-known material. The approach adopted in these studies being regularly repetitive has acquired a chilling monotonousness. Dr. Sharma deserves commendation for attempting an analysis of the culture of the Gupta period from an altogether new angle. His fresh approach has imparted a living warmth to the socio-cultural life of the period. Dr. Sharma has definitely made signficant improvement upon our understanding of the Classical Age of Indian history.

In introducing the present study to the world of scholars I must express my fervent desire and sincere hope that the present publication will be followed by many other scholarly studies by Dr. Sharma.

Banaras Hindu University, LALLANJI GOPAL
VARANASI, U.P.

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Preface

It may be pointed out at the outset that the inscriptions included in the list could not be arranged in chronological order as they were included during the work as and when noticed and found available. We did not like to disturb the order as arranged by J.F. Fleet in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III and further added to the list the other inscriptions which he could not include in his work due to their non-availability and non-publication at the time when he published his work. The criterion for the selection of the inscriptions and the seals has been the relevance with the Gupta history and the area supposed to be under the direct rule of the Guptas.

The present work, to some extent, is a break-away from the traditional type of research. This work follows the lines set in by F.T. Wainright and Dr. H.D. Sankalia in their works *Archaeology and place-names and History* and *Studies in the Historical and Cultural Geography and Ethnography of Gujarat* respectively.

Some people may ward off the idea in a name by saying merely "what is in a name?" But we find even now the people taking time to give a name to their child. They may even sometime talk about the justification of the name by the child which is expressed by a Sanskrit dictum *yathā nāma tathā guṇaḥ*.

A person is identified by his name by the family members as well as by others. Man lives with his name in this life and even after death the name survives. There is a taboo about the secret name not to be disclosed or made known to others for fear of sorcery or black-magic or ill-effect by the spirits.

It may also be mentioned that some people may give the names to their children quite thoughtfully—it may be after a god, a hero, a character from some fiction, while others may

imitate them without knowing or understanding any meaning or thought pregnant in the names.

It may be argued whether the names are connotative or not but who can refuse their cultural significance or their bearing on the cultural life of society. The bulk of a particular type of names may signify the preponderance of certain customs or predominance of some cults and traits in a society. We are primarily concerned with this factor in our study on the personal names in the Gupta inscriptions.

In the study of the geographical names we are not only concerned with their identification but also with their origin, cultural significance as well as the linguistic changes. The geographical names may represent the important personages, social beliefs in a society and its cultural habitat. The present work aims at the following objectives.

(i) To ascertain the historical facts proved by other evidence;
(ii) To correctly check up certain disputed readings in the inscriptions;
(iii) To correctly interpret some disputed passages in the inscriptions;
(iv) To accord a scientific tinge to already known material on the tribes as well as the place-names in the light of the new material published through a number of monographs on the subject.

The works on personal names are very few. In India a work of the type of *Your Baby's name* by Maxwell Nurnberg and Morris Rosenblum, has yet to be carried out, where the original history of English names has been worked out, statistics are given of its use by estimated number of people and ranked accordingly and the connotations given along with the citations from literature. The names for the boys and girls have also been classified separately.

The present study, originally a doctoral thesis accepted by the Banaras Hindu University in 1968, seeks to discuss separately different name-patterns with regard to personal names, names of tribes, places, rivers and mountains, though in a modest way. I owe special gratitude to Dr. V.S. Pathak of the Gorakhpur University and Dr.L. Gopal of the Banaras Hindu University, who helped me through this work. I feel highly obliged to

Dr.L. Gopal for writing a Foreword to this book. The award of a Research Fellowship by the University Grants Commission, New Delhi which enabled me to complete the dissertation, is very gratefully acknowledged.

Other scholars who helped me by way of valuable suggestions are :

Dr. A.K. Narain, Dr. H.D. Sankalia, Dr. D.C. Sircar, Dr. G. C. Pande, Dr. Romila Thapar, Dr A. M. Ghatage, Dr. M.A Mahendale, Dr. Mantrini Prasad, Dr. Parmanand Gupta, and Prof. N.K.S. Telang.

The courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India in making available photographs reproduced in this book is gratefully acknowledged.

Lastly, but not the least, I express my sincere thanks to my wife Brij and daughter Richa who gladly spared me the time for giving the present shape to the work.

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July 7, 1978

Coded Abbreviations

To cover a wide range of references we have introduced an alphabetical plan for abbreviations. We have divided it into the following six Series :

(I) From A to Z
(II) A to Z with combination of x.
(III) A to Z with combination of y.
(IV) A to Z with combination of z.
(V) A to Z with combination of g.
(VI) A to Z with combination of J. (for Journals)

During the process of the work, however, we could not avoid repetition and so as to avoid confusion, we have made use of numbers [1] and [2] after the brackets. These inconsistencies are :

1. (**Dx**)[1] and (**Dx**)[2] after **Dx**.
2. (**Ox**)[1] after **Ox**.
3. (**Zx**)[1] after **Zx**.
4. (**Zy**)[1] after **Zy**.
5. (**Kz**)[1] and (**Kz**)[2] after **Kz**.
6. (**Mg**)[1] after **Mg**.
7. (**CJ**)[1] after **CJ**.
8. (**XJ**)[1] after **XJ**.

A Concise Etymological Dictionary by M. Mayrhofer (**A**)
A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary by T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau (**B**)
A History of India. Vol. I by Romila Thapar (**C**)
A History of the Imperial Guptas by S. R. Goyal (**D**)
A Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies presented to F. W. Thomas by S. M. Katre and P. K. Gode (**E**)

An Early History of Vaiśālī by Yogendra Mishra (F)
An Introduction to the Study of Indian History by D. D. Kosambi (G)
Abhidhāna-Anuśīlana by Vidyabhushan Vibhu (H)
Age of the Imperial Guptas by R. D. Banerji (I)
Alberuni's India by E. C. Sachau (J)
Ancient and Medieval Nepal by D. R. Kegmi (K)
Ancient India by R. C. Majumdar (L)
Ancient Indian Historical Tradition by F. E Pargiter (M)
Ancient Peoples of the Punjab by J. Przyluski (N)
Aṣṭādhyāyī Prakāśikā by Devaprakash Pātañjala (O)
B. C. Law Volume (P)
Bhāratavarṣīya Prācīna Caritrakośa by Siddheshwar Shastri Chitrav (Q)
Bhāratīya Sikke by Vasudeva Upadhyaya (R)
Buddha-Gaya by R. L. Mitra (S)
Buddhist India by Rhys Davids (T)
Buddhist Records of the Western World by S. Beal (U)
Cambridge History of India, Vol. I (V)
Caste in India by J. H. Hutton (W)
Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India by John Allan (X)
Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta by V. A. Smith (Y)
Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties by John Allan (Z)
Cities of Ancient India by B. N. Puri (Ax)
Concise Semantic Dictionary by E. P. Horrwitz (Bx)
Corporate Life in Ancient India by R. C. Majumdar (Cx)
Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, Kharosthi Incsriptions by Sten Konow (Dx)
Corpus Inscripionum Indicarum, Vol. III by John Faithful Fleet (Dx)[1]
Dictionary of Pali Proper Names by G. P. Malalasekera (Dx)[2]
District Gazetteer of Gayā by L. S S. O' Malley (Ex)
Early Chauhan Dynasties by D. Sharma (Fx)
Early History of India by V. A. Smith (Gx)
Early History of North India by Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya (Hx)
Economic Life of Northern India in the Gupta Period by S. K. Maity (Ix)
Ethnic Settlements in Ancient India by S. B. Chaudhuri (Jx)

Ethnography of Ancient India by Robert Shafer **(Kx)**
Folk Culture Reflected in Names by R. P. Masani **(Lx)**
Geographical Data in the Early Purāṇas by M. R. Singh **(Mx)**
Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India by N. L. Dey **(Nx)**
Geography by Strabo **(Ox)**
Geography of the Purāṇas by S. M. Ali **(Ox)**[1]
Glossary of Castes and Tribes of the Punjab and N. W. F. P. by H. A. Rose **(Px)**
Great Epic of India by Hopkins **(Qx)**
Guptakālīna Mudrain by Ananta Sadashiva Altekar **(Rx)**
Gupta Sāmrājya by P. L. Gupta **(Sx)**
Hindu Castes and Sects by J. N Bhattacharya **(Tx)**
Hindu Polity by K. P. Jayaswal **(Ux)**
Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon (ed.) C.H. Philips **(Vx)**
Historical and Literary Inscriptions by R. B. Pandeya **(Wx)**
Historical Geography of Ancient India by B. C. Law **(Yx)**
History of Ancient India by R. S. Tripathi **(Zx)**
History of Dharmaśāstra by P. V. Kane **(Zx)**[1]
History of India by K. P. Jayaswal **(Ay)**
History of Indian Literature by M. A. Winternitz **(By)**
History of Indian Logic by S. C. Vidyabhusana **(Cy)**
History of Kosala by V. Pathak **(Dy)**
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Munshi Indological Felicitation Volume **(Sy)**
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Nirukta-śāstram by Bhagvaddatta **(Uy)**
On Yuan-Chwang's Travels in India by T. Watters **(Vy)**
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Paia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇāvo (ed.) V. S. Agrawala and Malvania **(Xy)**
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Political and Social Movements in Ancient Punjab by Buddha Prakash **(Zy)**[1]
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Rājataraṅgiṇī-kośa by Ramakumara Rai **(Bz)**
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Sanskrit-English Dictionary by Monier Williams **(Fz)**
Sanskrit-English Dictionary by V. S. Apte **(Gz)**
Select Inscriptions by D. C. Sircar **(Hz)**
Selections From Sanskrit Inscriptions by D. B. Diskalkar **(Iz)**
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The age of Imperial Unity **(Rz)**
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Bharati, Journal of the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi (DJ)
Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London (EJ)
Cultural Forum, Ministry of Eduction, Government of India (FJ)
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Indian Antiquary, Bombay (HJ)
Indian Culture, Calcutta (IJ)
Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta (JJ)
Journal Asiatique, Paris (KJ)
Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta (LJ)
Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajamundry (MJ)
Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna (NJ)
Journal of Gujarat Research Society (OJ)
Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum (PJ)
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Journal of the Greater India Society (SJ)
Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Varanasi (TJ)
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London (UJ)
Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, Lucknow (VJ)
Journal of the Mahākosala Historical Society (WJ)
Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India (XJ)
Nāgari Pracāriṇī Patrikā, Varanasi (XJ)[1]
Prācī-Jyotī, Kurukshetra University Journal (YJ)
Purāṇam, Ramanagar Fort, Varanasi (ZJ)

Code of Inscriptions

S. No.	*Name of the Inscription*	*Reference*
1.	Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta (=A.D. 335-76)	(Dx)[1], p. 1 ; Hz. p. 262
2.	Eraṇ Stone Pillar Inscription of Samūdragupta (=A.D. 335-76)	(Dx)[1], p. 18; Hz. p 268
3.	Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Candragupta II—Gupta Year 82 (A.D. 401)	(Dx),[1] p.21 ; Hz. p. 279
4.	Mathurā Stone Inscription of Candragupta II—(=A.D. 375-414)	(Dx)[1], p. 25
5.	Sāñcī Stone Inscription of Candragupta II—Gupta Year 93 (=A.D. 412)	(Dx)[1], p. 29; Hz. p. 280
6.	Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Candragupta II—(=A.D. 375-414)	(Dx)[1], p. 34; Hz. pp. 279-80
7.	Gadhwa Stone Inscription of Candragupta II—Gupta Year 88 (=A.D. 407)	(Dx)[1], p. 36
8.	Gadhwa Stone Inscription of Kumāragupta I—(=A.D. 415-455)	(Dx)[1], p. 39
9.	Gadhwa Stone Inscription of Kumāragupta I—Gupta Year 98 (=A.D. 417)	(Dx)[1], p. 40
10.	Bilsaḍ Stone Pillar Inscription of Kumāragupta I—Gupta Year 96 (=A.D. 415)	(Dx)[1], p. 42; Hz. 285
11.	Mankuwār Buddhist Stone Image Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I—Gupta Year 129 (=A.D. 448)	(Dx)[1], p. 45; Hz. p. 294
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13.	Bhitarī Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta (=A.D. 455-67)	(Dx)[1], p.52; Hz. p. 321
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16.	Indore Copper-plate Inscription of Skandagupta—Gupta Year 146 (=A.D. 465)	(Dx)[1], p.68; Hz. p. 318
17.	Mandasor Stone Inscription mentioning Kumāragupta I and Bandhuvarman—Mālava Years 493 and 529 (=A.D. 436 and 473)	(Dx)[1], p.79; Hz. p. 298
18.	Eraṇ Stone Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta—Gupta Year 165 (=A.D. 484)	(Dx)[1], p.89; Hz. p. 334
19.	Eraṇ Posthumous Iron Pillar Inscription (of Goparaja) of the time of Bhānugupta—Gupta Year 191 (A.D. 510)	(Dx)[1], p.91; Hz. p. 345
20.	Meharaulī Posthumous Iron Pillar Inscription of Candra	(Dx)[1], p.139; Hz. p. 283
21.	Spurious Gayā Copper-plate Inscription of Samudragupta—Year 9	(Dx)[1], p.254; Hz. p. 272
22.	Udayagiri Cave Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I—Gupta Year 106 (=A.D. 425)	(Dx)[1], p.258
23.	Sāñcī Stone Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I—Gupta Year 131 (=A.D. 450)	(Dx)[1], p.260
24.	Mathurā Stone Image Inscription of the time of Skandagupta—Gupta Year 135 (=A.D. 454-5)	(Dx)[1], p.262
25.	Gadhwa Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I	(Dx)[1], p. 264
26.	Kosam Stone Image Inscription of Mahāraja Bhīmavarman—Gupta Year 139 (=A.D. 458)	(Dx)[1], p. 266

27.	Gadhwa Stone Inscription—Gupta Year 148 (=A.D. 467)	(Dx)[1], p.267
28.	Pāhāṛpur Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 159 (=A.D. 478)	GJ.XX, p.62; S.I. p. 359
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34.	Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I—Gupta Year 124 (=A.D. 443)	GJ. XV, p. 130 ; **Hz.** p. 290
35.	Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I—Gupta Year 128 (=A.D. 448)	GJ. XV, p. 133; **Hz.** p. 292
36.	Dāmodarpur Copper-plate Inscription of the time of Budhagupta (=A.D. 476-94)	GJ. XV, p. 138; **Hz.** p. 336
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40.	Spurious Nālandā Copper-plate Inscription of Samudragupta—Year 5	GJ. XXV, p. 50 **Hz.** p. 227
41.	Mathurā Pillar Inscription of Candragupta II—Regnal Year 5, Gupta Year	GJ. XXI, p. 8; **Hz.** p. 227

	61 (=A.D. 380)	
42.	Basāṛh Clay Seal of Govindagupta	CJ. 1903-4, p. 107
43.	Kalaikuri—Sultānpur Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 120 (=A.D. 439)	JJ. XIX, p. 21; Hz. p. 352
44.	Baigram Copper-plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 120 (=A.D. 439)	GJ. XXI, p. 81; Hz. p. 355
45.	Basāṛh Clay Seal of Ghaṭotkacagupta	CJ. 1903-4, p. 107
46.	Supia Stone Pillar Inscription of the time of Skandagupta—Gupta Year 141 (=A. D. 460)	GJ. XXXIII, Part 8, p. 308; Hz. p. 317
47.	Nālandā Clay Seal of Narasiṁhagupta	JJ. XIX, p. 273; Xj. No. 66, p. 65
48.	Sārnāth Buddhist Stone Inscription of Kumāragupta II	CJ. 1914-15, p. 124
49.	Bhitarī Inscribed Copper-Silver Seal of Kumāragupta III	LJ. LVIII, p. 89
50.	Nālandā Baked Clay Seal of Kumāragupta II	XJ. No. 66, p. 66
51.	Nālandā Seal of Vainyagupta	XJ. No. 66, p. 67
52.	Gunaighar Copper-plate Inscription of Vainyagupta—Gupta Year 188 (=A. D. 507)	JJ. VI, p. 63; Hz. p. 340
53.	Nālandā Seal of Budhagupta	JJ. XIX, p. 119; Hz. p. 339
54.	Sārnāth Buddhist Stone Image Inscription of Budhagupta—Gupta Year 157 (=A. D. 476)	CJ. 1914-15, pp. 124-25; Hz. p. 332
55.	Vārāṇasī Pillar Inscription of the time of Budhagupta—Gupta Year 159 (=A.D. 478)	LJ. XV, 1949, p. 5; Hz. p. 332

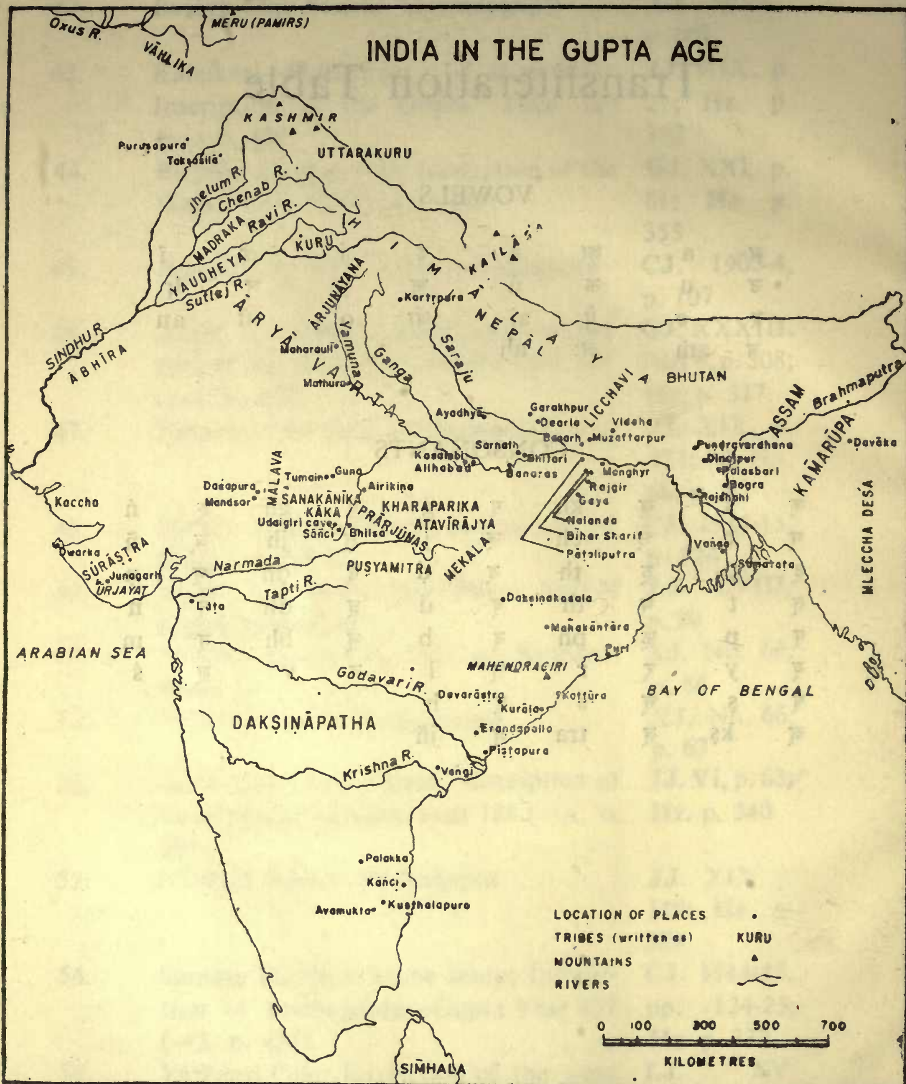
Transliteration Table

VOWELS

अ	a	आ	ā	इ	i	ई	ī
उ	u	ऊ	ū	ऋ	ṛ	लृ	lṛ
ए	e	ऐ	ai	ओ	o	औ	au
अं	aṁ	अः	aḥ				

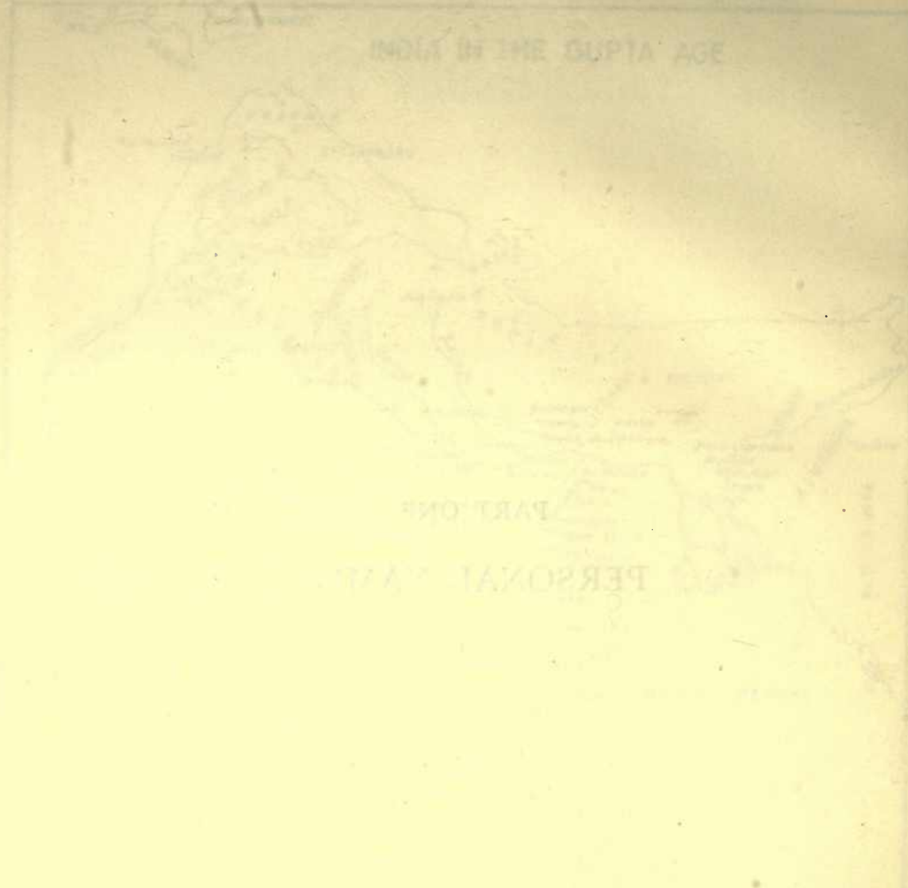
CONSONANTS

क्	k	ख्	kh	ग्	g	घ्	gh	ङ्	ṅ
च्	c	छ्	ch	ज्	j	झ्	jh	ञ्	ñ
ट्	ṭ	ठ्	ṭh	ड्	ḍ	ढ्	ḍh	ण्	ṇ
त्	t	थ्	th	द्	d	ध्	dh	न्	n
प्	p	फ्	ph	ब्	b	भ्	bh	म्	m
य्	y	र्	r	ल्	l	व	v	श्	ś
ष्	ṣ	स्	s	ह	h				
क्ष्	kṣ	त्र्	tra	ज्ञ्	jñ				


INDIA IN THE GUPTA AGE
Oxus R.
MERU (PAMIRS)
VĀHLIKA
KASHMIR
Puruṣapura
Takṣaśilā
UTTARAKURU
Jhelum R.
Chenab R.
MADRAKA
Ravi R.
KURU
YAUDHEYA
Sutlej R.
HIMĀLAYA
KAILĀSA
ĀRYĀVARTA
ĀRJUNĀYANA
Kartṛpura
NEPĀL
SINDHU R.
ĀBHĪRA
Maharauli
Yamuna R.
Ganga
Saraju
Mathura
Ayodhyā
Gorakhpur
Deoria
LICCHAVI
Videha
BHUTAN
ASSAM
Brahmaputra
KĀMARŪPA
Davāka
Basarh
Muzaffarpur
Sarnath
Kosambi
Allhabad
Bhitari
Banaras
Monghyr
Rajgir
Gaya
Nalanda
Bihar Sharif
Pāṭaliputra
Puṇḍravardhana
Dinajpur
Palasbari
Bogra
Rajshahi
Vaṅga
Samatata
MLECCHA DEŚA
MALAVA
Tumain
Guna
Daśapura
Mandsor
SANAKĀNĪKA
KĀKA
Airikiṇa
KHARAPARIKA
ĀTAVĪRĀJYA
PRĀRJUNAS
Udaigiri cave
Sāñci
Bhilsa
MEKALA
Koccha
Dwarka
SŪRĀṢṬRA
Junagarh
ŪRJAYAT
Narmada
PUṢYAMITRA
Tapti R.
Lāṭa
Dakṣiṇakosala
Mahakāntāra
Puri
ARABIAN SEA
MAHENDRAGIRI
Godavari R.
Devarāṣṭra
Koṭṭūra
Kurāla
Eraṇḍapalla
Piṣṭapura
BAY OF BENGAL
DAKṢIṆĀPATHA
Krishna R.
Vengi
Palakka
Kāñci
Avamukta
Kusthalapura
LOCATION OF PLACES
TRIBES (written as) KURU
MOUNTAINS
RIVERS
0 100 300 500 700
KILOMETRES
SIṀHALA

PART ONE

PERSONAL NAMES


INDIA IN THE GUPTA AGE

Prologue

Nominal languages, such as the Greenlandish and the Nauhatt, represent the earliest stage in the development of linguistic structures. They consisted mostly of the object-words, which denoted the objects and also action and quality. In the nominal languages, object-words (names) emerged out of proper names. In the early stages of a language, the first words are names, and all names are primarily proper names. Generic names, like man, animal and tree, evolve later and abstractions, like courage, ferocity, and greenness, later still.[1] A proper name is a symbol pointing to one and only one person, or place. Primitive man felt that the relationship between name and thing was close and intimate. This fraction formed the basis for rituals pertaining to propitiation and incantation. The mishandling of a name in speech might imply insult or may result in injury to the bearer of the name.[2]

Even in regard to generic names we have to keep certain limitations in view. Yāska states that we find convenience in restricting the use of words otherwise they may bring about confusion.[3]

A personal name consists of a surname and that part of name which is variously called as the first name or the Christian name. Surname consists of the Caste-suffix or Gotra, Pravara and Śākhā. Sometimes it may consist of Gotra or family appellation alone. Many surnames are derived from the principal professions the people followed or the crafts they practised, and in the majority of cases, are still engaged in. Some surnames give clue to the original habitat of a people, even though they have migrated elsewhere. Others point to the ethnic groups a people belonged. Thus surnames are important from Historical, Cultural, and Ethnological point of view.

First names are primarily devised to denote[4] and not to connote, though at times fortuitously denotation may be

identical with connotation.[5] Nevertheless, they reflect beliefs, aspirations, cultural atmosphere and level of education of family, head of the family or society. It is not necessary that the names befit a thing or person as soon as it is born. Some names are given to them after noticing their actions. *Bilvāda* and *Lambacūḍaka* were the names of certain birds current in Yāska's time; Amara does not mention them. The bird *Bilvāda* is so called on account of its habit of eating a certain fruit some time after its birth. In the case of *Lambacūḍaka* its long crest comes into existence long after its birth and yet it is called *Lambacūḍaka*.[6] The first part of the names of persons generally consists of certain deities, constellations, abstract things or other objects of nature. They are with or without a name-ending suffix.

We can study personal names with respect to time, place and society. A certain society will not change its naming-pattern even after the change of place. From the frequency of a particular name in a particular region we know of the religion, culture and the philosophy of life of the people of a certain region. Vidyabhushan has quoted some lengthy names giving full particulars of the persons.[7]

Now we shall briefly review the principles of naming a person as prescribed by the Dharmaśāstras and grammarians.

We may classify the literary data about naming into four distinct periods[8] :

1. Vedic period
2. Sūtra period
3. Smṛti period
4. Nibandha period

VEDIC PERIOD

In the Vedic period usually two names were given to a person, one of which was a secret name, known to the parents only. Instances of persons having three or four names are also found. Throughout the Vedic literature the names given to a person were his own secular name and one or more other names derived either from his father's or grandfather's name, or from his Gotra or from a locality or from the name of his mother.[9] It is not quite clear from the Vedic literature how the

secret name known only to the parents was given. Hardly any secret name except that of Indra as Arjūna is known from the Vedic literature.[10] It is to be noted that the rule as to giving the designation of a Nakṣatra as the secret name or otherwise is not illustrated by a single recorded name of a teacher in the Brāhmaṇas.[11] The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa several times mentions the adoption of a second name with a view to securing success, and also refers to the adoption of another name for purposes of distinction.[12]

SŪTRA PERIOD

The Gṛhya-sūtras provide us details about the name-giving ceremony, the secret name, the common name, the *abhivādanīya* name, the quality of the name as well as the formation of the names of the boys and girls.

Name-giving ceremony

The Śāṅkhāyana[13] and the Pāraskara[14] Gṛhya-sūtras prescribe the name-giving ceremony to be performed on the tenth day after the birth of the child but usually the Gṛhya-sūtras recommend its performance after ten nights have elapsed.[15] The Gṛhya-sūtras consider the first ten days after the birth of the child as of impurity. Hence it is prescribed by the Hiraṇyakeśin[16] that on the twelfth day the mother and son take a bath, the house is made clean, the *Sūtikāgni* is taken away and the *Aupāsanāgni* is established. Having put wood on that fire, and having performed the rites down to the *vyāhṛti* oblations, they sacrifice twelve oblations with the verses, "May Dhatri give us wealth" ; according to some (teachers they make) thirteen (oblations). This, O Varuṇa 'Hail, good luck ?' Then let the father give the name to the child.

The Gobhila Gṛhya-sūtra is very liberal with regard to the performance of the name-giving ceremony as it says, "When ten nights have elapsed after (the child's) birth, or a hundred nights, or one year, the *Nāmadheyakaraṇa* (or giving a name to the child) is performed".[17] Gobhila[18] details the ceremony as follows : He who is going to perform that ceremony, the father or a representative of the father, sits down to the west of the fire on northward-pointed *Darbha* grass, facing the east.

Then the mother, having dressed the son in a clean garment, hands him, from south to north, with his face turned to the north, to the performer of the ceremony. She then passes behind his back and sits down to the north of him, on northward pointed *Darbha* grass. He then sacrifices to Prajāpati, to the *Tithi* of the Child's birth, to the *Nakṣatra* of the child's birth, and to the presiding deity of that Tithi and of that *Nakṣatra*. He then murmurs the *Mantra*, "Who art thou? What art thou?, touching the sense-organs at the boy's head. In the passage of the *Mantra* : "Enter upon the month that belongs to Ahaspati (i.e., the lord of the days), N.N." After this the performer of the rite should first announce the child's name to the mother.[19] Further the sacrificial fee of a cow is recommended.[20]

Pāraskara,[21] however, makes this ceremony very simple when it states, "On the tenth day (after the birth of the child) the father, having made (his wife) get up, and having fed the brāhmaṇas, gives a name to the child".

The Secret Name

The secret name is given to the child immediately after the birth of the child or even before when the rite for quick delivery is to be performed. As prescribed by the Gobhila Gṛhya-sūtra, the father pronounces a name in the formula : "A male will be born, such-and-such by name" ; and the name is kept secret.[22] Āpastamba[23] prescribes that the father gives the name to the new-born child soon after his birth. This is a *Nakṣatra* name and is secret. The Khādira Gṛhya-sūtra[24] also prescribes that the secret name should be given immediately after the birth of the child. Śaṅkhāyana[25] prescribes the giving of the secret name by the father after feeding the new-born child with a mixture of butter, honey, milk-curds and water, or grind together rice and barley, from a golden vessel or with a golden spoon. The Hiraṇyakeśin Gṛhya-sūtra,[26] however, prescribes that on the twelfth day itself, the father should give the child two names out of which the second name should be a *Nakṣatra* name. The one name should be secret and by the other they should call him.

This means that according to Hiraṇyakeśin the secret name may not essentially be a *Nakṣatra* name.

The Common Name

A common name or a name for public use is given to the child after the tenth day at the time of the performance of the name-giving ceremony. Śaṅkhāyana[27] prescribes that the name should be pleasing to the brāhmaṇas.

The Abhivādanīya Name

The Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra[28] prescribes that along with the common name, the father may also find out for the child, a name to be used at respectful salutations, such as that due to the *Ācārya* at the ceremony of initiation ; that name only his mother and father should know till his initiation. While the Gobhila Gṛhya-sūtra[29] prescribes that the *abhivādanīya* name should be given by the teacher when the student comes for study. The teacher chooses for him a name which he is to use at respectful salutations—a name derived from the name of a deity or a *Nakṣatra.* Or also of his Gotra, according to some teachers.

The Quality of the Name

All the Gṛhya-sūtras unanimously agree that the name of the son should begin with a sonant,[30] with a semi-vowel in it, with a long vowel or the *visarga* at the end, and formed with a *kṛta* suffix and it should not contain a *taddhita* suffix with an even number[31] of syllables.[32] The Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-sūtra says that the name should consist of two, or of four syllables. Of two syllables, if he is desirous of firm position; of four syllables, if he is desirous of holy lustre; but in every case with an even number of syllables for men.[33]

The Gṛhya-sūtras of Āpastamba[34] and Hiraṇyakeśin,[35] on the authority of a Brāhmaṇa, prescribe the option of a name containing the particle *su*, for such a name has a firm foundation. Pāraskara adds further that the name of a brāhmaṇa should end in *Śarman*, that of a kṣatriya in *Varman* and that of a vaiśya in *Gupta.*[36] Hiraṇyakeśin[37] prescribes two names for a brāhmaṇa desirous of success. The second name should be a *Nakṣatra* name. The one name should be secret and by the other the parents should call the child. He further prescribes

that the father should give him the name *Somayājin* i.e., performer of soma sacrifices, as his third name.[38]

The name derived from the deity or *Nakṣatra* was permitted using god's name but directly using god's name as the name of an individual was forbidden.[39] The name of the father was to be avoided but the child could be given the name of one of his ancestors.[40]

The Names of the Girls

While some Gṛhya-sūtras[41] are silent about the names of the girls, others[42] prescribe some rules for framing their names as well :

(*i*) The name of a girl should have an odd number of syllables.[43]

(*ii*) It should end in *ā*, with a *taddhita* suffix.[44]

(*iii*) It should end in *dā*.[45]

(*iv*) Āpastamba[46] says that girls who have the name of a *Nakṣatra*, or of a river, or of a tree, are objectionable.

This finds an echo later in the Manu-Smṛti where the girls bearing such names are forbidden for marriage.[47]

(*v*) The Āpastamba Gṛhya-sūtra[48] also states that all girls in whose names the last letter but one is *r* or *l*, one should avoid in wooing.

(*vi*) The name of a girl should not end in *dattā* or *rakṣitā* preceded by the name of a deity; etc.[49]

We find some distinguishing characteristics between the names of the boys and the girls. The names of the boys are prescribed to end in *visarga* while of the girls with *ā* or *dā*. The names of the boys are ordained to end with a *kṛta* suffix while of the girls with a *taddhita* suffix. But the rules prohibiting certain kinds of names for girls were frequently violated or continued to be violated as is evident from numerous such examples in literature.

SMṚTI PERIOD

Manu simplifies the system and lays down the following four simple rules :

(*i*) A name should be given to a child on the 10th or 12th day on a pious date, *Muhūrta* or *Nakṣatra*.[50]

(*ii*) The name of a brāhmaṇa should be indicative of *maṅgala*, of a kṣatriya strength, of a vaiśya wealth and of śūdra lowness.[51]

(*iii*) To the name of a brāhmaṇa an *upapada* (suffix) should be joined indicating *śarman* (happiness or blessing) ; of a king an *upapada* connected with protection ; of a vaiśya indicating prosperity and of a śūdra indicating dependence or service.[52]

(*iv*) The names of women should be easily pronounced, clear, charming, auspicious, ending in long vowel and should be full of blessings.[53]

Manu omits the elaborate rules about giving a name in the case of males, and does not make any reference to the *Nakṣatra* name or *abhivādanīya* name given to a boy.

NIBANDHA PERIOD

The Mitākṣarā, a commentary on the Yājñavalkya Smṛti, quotes Śaṅkha, who says that a father should give to his son a name connected with a family deity.[54]

There is another way of deriving names from *Nakṣatras*. In some of the medieval Jyotiṣa works, each of the 27 *Nakṣatras* is divided into four *pādas*, and to each *pāda* of a *Nakṣatra* a specific letter is assigned (e.g. *cu*, *ce*, *co*, and *la* for the four *pādas* of Aśvinī) from which a person born in a particular *pāda* of Aśvinī was called Cūḍāmaṇi, Cedīśa, Coleśa, or Lakṣmaṇa.[55] These names are called *Nakṣatra-nāma*; they are secret and muttered into the ear of the brahmacārin at his *upanayana* even now. Even so late a work as the Dharmasindhu (A.D. 1790) disapproves of names, not warranted by the Smṛtis.

Now we consider the views of grammarians on naming a person.

Pāṇini divides the names into four principal classes.[56]

(1) Gotra names mentioned in Chapter 4, *pāda* 1 of the Aṣṭādhyāyī, e.g. Gārgya.

(2) Patronymics, e.g. Upagu's son called Aupagava (*Tasyāpatyam*, IV.1.92).

(3) Names derived from localities, where a person or his ancestors lived.

(4) Personal names proper (V.3.78,84; V.3.65 ; VI 2.106; VI.2.159 ; VI.2.165).

Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya mentions Pāṇini by matronymic.[57]

He says that parents name their child some days after his birth just as Devadatta and Yajñadatta and as a result other people also know him by the same name.[58]

The Aṅgavijjā,[59] a work generally placed in the third century, has much useful material about names. The 26th chapter of this work is devoted to proper names. The general rules prescribed for naming the persons are as follows :

The names of men were formed from *gottanāma*, *ayanāma* (constellations), *kamma* (profession), *sarīra* (body) *karaṇa* (office).[60] Under *aya* are quoted the examples *kinnaka*, *kataraka*, *chadditaka*. *Sarīra* names are qualitative. They are *saṇḍa* (bull), *vikaḍa* (terrible), *kharaḍa* (lowest), *khallaḍa* (bald), *vipiṇa* (forest).[61]

The friendly names ended with the suffixes *ṇandi*, *nanda*, *diṇṇa*, *ṇandaka* and *nandika*.[62]

The names indicating defects of the body are *khaṇḍasīsa* (broken head), *kāṇa* (blind of one eye), *pillaka* (discarded), *kujja* (hunchback), *vāmaṇaka* (dwarf), *kuvi(ṇi)ka* (lame), *sabala* (spotted), *khañja* (lame), and *vaḍabha* (distorted).[63]

Proper names were also formed on the basis of complexion, fair complexion being designated as *avadātaka*, *seḍa* and *seḍila*; light black as *sāma*, *sāmali* and *sāmaka-sāmalā*, and black as *kālaka* and *kālikā*.

Names based on beauty of the human body are : *sumuha* (handsome), *sudaṁsaṇa* (pleasing personality), *surūva* (beautiful), *jāta* (well-born), and *sugata* (pleasing gait).

The names based on age are : *bālaka* (child), *ḍaharaka* (boy), *majjhima* (middle-aged), *thavira-thera* (old).[64]

The following endings of proper names are mentioned : *tata*, *dātta*, *diṇṇa*, *mitta*, *gutta*, *bhūta pāla*, *pāli*, *samma*, *yāsa*, *rāta*, *ghosa*, *bhāṇu*, *viddhi*, *nandi*, *nanda*, *māna*, *uttarā*, *pālita*, *rakhi*, *nandana*, *ṇandaka*, *and sahitamahaka*.[65].

REFERENCES

1. Wy. p. 142.

2. Cf. पाणिनीय शिक्षा, श्लो० 52.

मन्त्रो हीनः स्वरतो वर्णतो वा मिथ्याप्रयुक्तो न तमर्थमाह ।
स वाग्वज्रो यजमानं हिनस्ति यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात् ॥

Vṛtra himself was killed while trying to kill Indra with the help of a *mantra*. This all happened due to the mistake of the chanter of the hymn in accent.

In "यथेन्द्रशत्रुः स्वरतोऽपराधात्" the word "इन्द्रशत्रुः" if accented on the first word becomes बहुव्रीहि समास otherwise a तत्पुरुष समास if accented finally. In the hymn इन्द्रशत्रुर्वर्धस्व i.e. the slayer (*Śatru*) of Indra should get victory, by mistake the brāhmaṇas chanted it with the accent on the first word which entirely changed its meaning as 'He should be victorious, who has Indra as slayer (*śatru*).

3. **Ty**, pp. 263-64 :

All sorts of people are found planing wood occasionally; but the name '*takṣan*' (from √*takṣ*=to plane wood) is applied to those only who make a profession of planing wood or carpentering. Beggars wander about and yet they are not called *parivrājaka* (one who moves here and there); the term is used only for those who embrace the fourth religious order. *Jīvanah* literally means one that lives; so anything that lives may be called *Jīvana* but water of sugarcane or a kind of vegetable alone is called *Jīvana*. The word *bhūmija* refers to the planet Mars though multitudes of things are born of the earth.

4. Mahābhāṣya Vol. I, p. 38; See note 58 also.

5. Cf. **H.** p. 14.

We find in the Nāma-siddhi-jātaka-gāthā (No. 67) that a person named Pāpaka who was in search of good name came back to his house disappointed seeing Jīvaka as dead, finding Dhanapāla in poor condition and noticing Panthaka roaming about in woods.

"जीवक च मतं दिस्वा, धनपालि च दुग्गतम् ।
पन्थक च वने मूढं पापको पुनरायतो ॥"

6. Yāska's Nirukta (ed. V.K. Rajavade), **Ty.**, p. 266.

7. **H.** p. 16.

See also **Lx** pp. 40-47.

8. H.D. Sankalia, **Pz.** pp. 100-104.

P.V. Kane, "Naming a Child or a person", JJ, XIV, pp. 224-44.

9. **Vg.**, Vol. I, p. 444.

10. Śatapatha, II. 1.2.11.

11. **Vg.** pp. 443-44.

12. Ibid., p. 444.

13. I. 24.6.

14. I. 17.1.

15. Āpastamba VI. 15.7-8; Hiraṇyakeśin II. 1.4, 6; Gobhila II. 8.8.

16. II, I, 4, 6-10.

17. Gobhila, II, 8-8.

18. Ibid., II. 8. 9-14.

19. Ibid., II. 8. 17.

20. Ibid., II. 8. 18.
21. I. 17.1.
22. Gobhila Gṛhya-Sūtra II, 7, 15; Ram Gopal, Ky., pp. 265 and 273.
23. VI. 15.2-3.
24. II, 2, 30-31.
25. 1.24. 3-6.
26. II. 1, 4, 12-14.
27. 1.24.6.
28. 1.15.8.
29. II. 10.23-25.
30. Sonants (Ghoṣa) are the 3rd, 4th and 5th letters of the five classes from कवर्ग to पवर्ग and य, व, र, ल.
31. An even number means divisible by two i.e. two or four or six or eight etc.
32. Gobhila Gṛhya-Sūtra, II. 8, 14-15. Hiraṇyakeśin Gṛhya-Sūtra II, I, 4, 10; Śāṅkhāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra I. 24.4; Pāraskara Gṛhya-Sūtra. I. 17.2; Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra. I. 15.4-7; Āpastamba Gṛhya-Sūtra. VI. 15.9.
33. Āśvalāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra. I. 15. 4-7.
34. VI. 15.10.
35. II. I, 4.10.
36. Pāraskara Gṛhya-Sūtra. 1.17.4.
37. Hiraṇyakeśin Gṛhya-Sūtra, II. I, 4, 12-14.
38. Ibid., II. I, 4, 15.
39. Mānava Gṛhya-Sūtra, I.18., 1-2. यशस्यं नामधेयं
देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राश्रयं देवतायाश्च प्रत्यक्षं प्रतिषिद्धम् ।
40. Ram Gopal, Ky., p. 274.
41. Hiraṇyakeśin, Śāṅkhāyana etc.
42. Āśvalāyana, Pāraskara, Āpastamba etc.
43. Āpastamba Gṛhya-Sūtra VI. 15.11; Pāraskara Gṛhya-Sūtra 1.17.3; Aśvālāyana Gṛhya-Sūtra I. 15.7.
44. Pāraskara Gṛhya-Sūtra. I. 17.3.
45. Gobhlia Gṛhya-Sūtra, II. 8.16.
46. Āpastamba Gṛhya-Sūtra, I, 3, 12.
47. नक्षवृ्क्षनदीनाम्नीं नान्त्यपर्वतनामिकाम् ।
न पक्ष्यहिप्रेष्यनाम्नीं न च भीषणनामिकाम् ॥ मनुस्मृति ३।९.
48. I. 3.13.
49. Vārāha Gṛhya-Sūtra, III. 3. as quoted by Ram Gopal, op. cit. p. 275.
50. मनुस्मृति २।३०
नामधेयं दशम्यां तु द्वादश्यां वास्य कारयेत् ।
पुण्ये तिथौ मुहूर्ते वा नक्षत्रे वा गुणान्विते ॥
51. Manu Smṛti, 2.31 :
मंगल्यं ब्राह्मणस्य स्यात्क्षत्रियस्य बलान्वितम् ।
वैश्यस्य धनसंयुक्तं शूद्रस्य तु जुगुप्सितम् ॥

52. Ibid., 2.32
शर्मवद्ब्राह्मणस्य स्याद्राज्ञा रक्षासमन्वितम् ।
वैश्यस्य पुष्टिसंयुक्तं शूद्रस्य प्रेष्यसंयुतम् ॥
53. Ibid., 2.33
स्त्रीणां सुखोदयमक्रूरं विस्पष्टार्थं मनोहरम् ।
माङ्गल्यं दीर्घवर्णान्तमाशीर्वादाभिधानवत् ॥
54. H.D. Sankalia, Pz., p. 104.
55. P.V. Kane, JJ., XIV, p. 238.
56. V.S. Agrawala, Jy., p. 182.
57. सर्वे सर्वपदादेशा दाक्षीपुत्रस्य पाणिनेः ।
महाभाष्य on पाणिनि I. 1.20 (Vol. I, p. 75)
58. Vide महाभाष्य Vol. I, p. 38.
लोके तावन्मातापितरौ पुत्रस्य जातस्य संवृतेऽवकाशे नाम
कुर्वाते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्त इति । तयोरुपचारादन्येऽपि जानन्तीयमस्य संज्ञेति ।
Kane, JJ., XIV, 1938, p. 243.
59. मुनि पुण्यविजय, अंगविज्जा; प्राकृतग्रथपरिषद्, वाराणसी, 1957.
60. Ibid., p. 152 : तत्थ मणुस्सणमधेज्जं पंचविधं, तं जधा—
1. गोत्तणामधेज्जं, 2 अयणमकं, 3. कम्मणमधेज्जं, 4. सरीरणमं,
5. करणणमं चेति ।
61. Ibid., p. 152.
62. Ibid., p. 152, VS. 1-2.
63. Ibid., p. 153 : खंडसीस—काण—पिल्लक—कुज—वामणक—कुविक—सबल—-
खंज—वडभो वेति ।
64. Ibid., p. 153 : बालक—डहरक—मज्झिम—थविर—थेरसमाजु ज्ञाणि चयोजं
सरीरजं चेति ।
65. Ibid., p. 153.

Names of the Gupta Kings and Queens

NAMES OF THE GUPTA KINGS

All Gupta kings excepting Ghaṭotkaca have the surname 'gupta' at the end. Before taking up the names of individual Gupta kings we may discuss the significance of the term 'gupta'. Does it signify the family (a vaiśya family) or the predecessor of the family ?

In the inscriptions, Śrī Gupta appears as the founder of the dynasty. His name is always given first in the dynastic table.[1] Moreover, we find in the Udayagiri Cave inscription, of the year 106[2] the wording "*Guptānvyānām nṛpasattamānāṁ rājye*" (in the reign of the family of the best of kings, belonging to the Gupta lineage) which shows that all these kings belonged to a family which was founded by the above Gupta ; hence they were called Guptas.[3]

In Śrī Gupta '*Śrī*' is an honorific term as in the case of other Gupta emperors mentioned in the inscriptions.[4] Had the name of the first king been 'Śrī Gupta', it would have been mentioned as Śrī Śrī Gupta[5] as we find in the case of the name of Śrīmatī in the Deo-Barnark Inscription of Jīvitagupta II.[6] If we accept that Gupta was the name of the first king of the family we may dismiss the possibility of the Gupta ending signifying a surname.

Now the question arises why the family was named after this Gupta ? In many cases families are named after some important person born therein, and when once a family is so named, the tradition is maintained even though the successors may reach much higher positions. Prior to this the family might not have attained any significant status. For the first time this Gupta got the status of a Mahārāja as is mentioned

in the Gupta inscriptions,[7] the status remained unchanged in the second generation, and from the third generation the Gupta kings became Mahārājādhirājas. Literally, Mahārāja means a great king. But the apparent and deliberate differentiation in the status of the earlier and later kings suggests that the political status of this Gupta was not much high in his own times.[8] Probably he was only a feudal chief and not an independent king.

The name Gupta is so short that it looks suspiciously queer. But we must point out that the first part has not been lost or damaged in the inscription. Palaeographically it is quite categorical that the name is Gupta, there is no loss or damage of syllables.

In ordinary life in all societies we find the convenient tendency to drop one part of the name. We address a person by the *pūrvapada* or the *uttarapada* whichever is convenient to us. By the passage of time that name becomes his popular name. In some cases even his original name may be forgotten. In our own case *Gupta* may have been the *uttarapada* of the name of the first king by which he may have been generally known. The name Gupta was probably very popular, so much so that the dynasty itself was named after it.

The practice of shortening the names is not known in the Vedic times ; it is noticed by Pāṇini and seems to have been fashionable in the times of Katyāyana and Patañjali.[9] Several examples of it are also met with in the Buddhist literature.

In modern historical usage Śrī has become so much associated with the name of the first king of the Gupta dynasty that it has become a real part of his name generally written as 'Śrī Gupta'.

The psychology behind it may be that the use of the smaller names sounds queer and it is brought at par with other names in the dynasty, e.g. Candragupta, Samudragupta, Kumāragupta, etc.

V.A. Smith[10] suggests that this name was not simply Gupta, but Śrīgupta, implying thereby that Śrī is an integral part of his name, not the honorific prefix. Fleet[11] has thoroughly refuted all his arguments and we may not discuss them here.

Some corroborative evidence for the historicity of Śrī

Gupta is afforded by two seals of which one is in Prakrit and gives the legend '*Gautasya*' while the other is in Sanskrit and has the reading '*Śrī Guptasya*'. It is most probable that these seals belong to the founder of the Gupta dynasty, especially the Sanskrit Seal.[12]

The dynastic name is derived from the termination Gupta of each king's personal name, showing that the line had no respectable origin as clan, tribe, or caste.[13]

The word 'Gupta' is derived from √gup to protect.[14] The Viṣṇu Purāṇa[15] says—"(The termination) *śarman* is prescribed for a brāhmaṇa ; *varman* belongs to a kṣatriya ; (and) a name characterised by *gupta* and *dāsa* is approved of in the case of (respectively) a vaiśya and a sūdra". The commentary in the Bombay edition gives as examples, Somaśarman, Indravarman, Candragupta, and Sivadāsa.[16] The Mānavadharmaśāstra[17] also lays down a similar rule without specifying the terminations. On the basis of these authorities, it has been suggested that the Early Guptas were not of a high caste, being at best vaiśyas, and hence felt pride in their matrimonial alliance with the Licchavis.[18]

But we find that the rules regarding the naming of persons prescribed in the Dharmaśāstras were not always strictly followed. To give only a few examples the name of the well known astronomer, Brahmagupta, a brāhmaṇa, ended in 'Gupta'[19] and likewise Dāsavarman is the name of a brāhmaṇa, in line 36 of the Nerur grant of Vijayāditya (dated Śaka-saṁvat 627).[20]

We know of the names of the kings ending in Gupta as early as second century B.C. from the records of the excavations and explorations conducted in Central India.[21] It may be noted from Tālagund stone pillar inscription of the time of Śāntivarman (A.D. 455-70)[22] that the grandson of a brāhmaṇa king Mayūraśarman was named as Kāku(ut)sthavarman. Thus on consideration no weightage can be given to the word '*gupta*' denoting a Vaiśya class.

In this context we must note that Prabhāvatīguptā, the daughter of Candragupta II and chief queen of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II describes herself as belonging to the Dhāraṇa *gotra* in her Poona and Rithpur copper plate inscrip-

tions.[23] Dhāraṇa is clearly the *gotra* of her father, as the *gotra* of her husband is specifically mentioned as 'Viṣṇuvṛddha' in the Chammak copper plate inscription of Pravarasena II.[24]

This Dhāraṇa *gotra* has been variously interpreted by scholars.

Jayaswal takes it to stand for *Dhanri*, a Jāṭ clan found in Amritsar, and on the basis of the Kaumudīmahotsava he concludes that Candragupta I was a *Kāraskara* or *Kakkar jāṭ*.[25] This view has been supported by Gokhale.[26]

Jayaswal emphasizes the similarity between the name of the *Dhāraṇīya jāṭs* in Gaṅgānagar district of Rajasthan and the Dhāraṇa *gotra* of the Guptas.[27] Candragomin's grammatical illustration "*ajayat jarto Hūṇān*" (The *jarta* or Jāṭ king defeated the Hūṇas) has also been interpreted by Jayaswal to refer to the Gupta ruler Skandagupta's victory over the Hūṇas.[28] Thus the jāṭ origin of the Guptas has been a favourite thesis of Jayaswal.

According to Raychaudhuri the Dhāraṇa *gotra* of the Guptas suggests that they were related to Dhāriṇī, the chief queen of Agnimitra Śuṅga.[29] This view is untenable. The similarity in the two names is not sufficient to establish the origin of the Dhārṇa *gotra.*

On the basis of the evidence of the Skandapurāṇa Dashrath Sharma[30] says that Dhāraṇa was a *gotra* of the brāhmaṇas of Dharmāraṇya, a tract in the present Mirzapur district of Eastern Uttar Pradesh. But Sharma is not ready to accept that the Guptas were brāhmaṇas, he considers them to be either kṣatriyas or vaiśyas who adopted the *gotra* of their *gurus*, as sanctioned by the laws of the Smṛtis and the Dharmasūtras.[31]

But Goyal[32] considers the Guptas to be brāhmaṇas. He relies on the evidence of their matrimonial alliances :

We find that Prabhāvatīguptā, the daughter of Candragupta II was married to the brāhmaṇa king Rudrasena II.[33] Kadamba king Kāku(ut)sthavarman who was a brāhmaṇa says that he married one of his daughters to a Gupta king.[34] Buddhist scholar Paramārtha (A.D. 600) says that Bālāditya, the Gupta king, married his sister to Vasurāta, a brāhmaṇa by caste.[35] According to the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman

Bhānuguptā (most probably a daughter of the Gupta king Bhānugupta) was the 'wife of a certain Ravikīrtti, evidently a brāhmaṇa, who was the grandfather of Dharmadosha, the minister of Yaśodharman.[36]

Thus, we see that three of the Gupta princesses were married to brāhmaṇas.[37] There is only one instance of the Guptas marrying a daughter of a Kadamba king, who was a brāhmaṇa.[38]

It is to be noted that matrimonial alliances played a significant part in the foreign policy of the Guptas. Candragupta I rose to power by marrying the Licchavi princess Kumāradevī and Samudragupta accepted the offers of daughters from his feudatories. Thus, marriages with the most powerful and distinguished royal families in different parts of India continued to be an important policy of the Guptas.[39]

Hence, the matrimonial alliances of the Guptas seem to have sprung from political considerations.[40] Politically the Kadambas were no match for the Guptas. It may be inferred that it was on account of political pressures or as a matter of pride for the Kadambas that they had married their daughter to the Gupta king. We can explain all the matrimonial alliances of the Guptas even without bringing political reasons in the picture. As we know, intercaste marriages, especially of the *anuloma* type, have been permitted by the Smṛtis. In three out of the four cases Gupta princesses were married to brāhmaṇa bridegrooms. If these are taken to have been *anuloma* marriages Guptas could have belonged to any of the remaining three *varṇas*. It is only the marriage of a Kadamba princess with a Gupta king which requires the Guptas to have been brāhmaṇas, otherwise it will be a case of a *pratiloma* marriage.

The Guptas do not mention their caste in any of their records. Had they been brāhmaṇas they must have been proud to refer to it, especially because they were staunch supporters of Hinduism. We find a parallel in the case of Pāla kings of Bengal who are silent about their caste since they were Buddhists.

Finally Candragupta I agreed to have a joint coinage with the Licchavis after his marriage with the Licchavi princess Kumāradevī. Had the Gupta kings been brāhmaṇas, they

would not have agreed to have a joint coinage (bearing the legend '*Licchavayaḥ*', the Licchavis) with the Licchavis who were *Vrātya* kṣatriyas.[41] Even if the Guptas had agreed for a joint coinage as a political matter, they might have objected the word '*Licchavayaḥ*' on the coins. More astonishing is the fact that even the name of the Guptas is not linked with the legend 'Licchavayaḥ'. Above that, Samudragupta was ready to be called *Licchavi-dauhitra* and seems to have mentioned this epithet in his records as a matter of pride.[42] It may also be noted that Prabhāvatīguptā though married to a brāhmaṇa king Rudrasena II, was the daughter of Candragupta II born of the union with a Nāga princess Kuberanāgā.[43]

If Guptas could do such acts out of political expediency, we do not admit them to be orthodox brāhmaṇas and are not ready to give any weightage to their matrimonial alliances as Goyal has done for the consideration of their caste. They were kings, for them all such matters were first political and then social.[44] Kosambi also ascribes to a similar view by stating that the Guptas followed a series of political marriages ignoring tribal or caste norms.[45]

Thus we can conclude that the question of the caste of the Guptas cannot be said to have been finally settled. If their dhāraṇa *gotra* was not borrowed from the *gotra* of their *purohita* and it originally belonged to them then they must be described as brāhmaṇas. We will have to wait for some more weighty and specific evidence to give the final verdict.

Following are the names of the Gupta kings which we divide into two categories :

A. Main rulers
B. Other members of the dynasty

A. *Main Rulers*

1. Gupta
2. Ghaṭotkaca
3. Candragupta I
4. Samudragupta
5. Candragupta II
6. Govindagupta
7. Kumāragupta I

8. Skandagupta
9. Pūrugupta
10. Kumāragupta II
11. Budhagupta
12. Narasiṁhagupta
13. Kumāragupta III
14. Viṣṇugupta

B. Other members of the dynasty

1. Ghaṭotkacagupta
2. Vainyagupta
3. Bhānugupta

A. Main Rulers

1. *Gupta*: (No. 1, L. 28; No. 21, L. 4; No. 22, L.1; No. 47, L. 1; No. 49, L. 1; No. 50, L. 1; No. 51, L. 2, L. 4; No. 53, L. 1) :

He was the founder of the family. We have already discussed his name.

2. *Ghaṭotkaca*: (No. 1, L.28; No. 47, L.1; No. 53, LL. 1-2; No. 46, L. 1; No. 49, L. 1; No. 50, L. 1; No 40, L. 3; No. 21, L. 4 :

The inscriptions name Mahārājā Ghaṭotkaca as the successor of Gupta. He should not be confused with Ghaṭotkacagupta whose name occurs on some seals found at Vaiśālī, and also in the Tumain Inscription of Kumāragupta and Ghaṭotkacagupta (G. E. 116).[46]

Ghaṭotkaca was the name of a son of Bhīma-sena by the Rākṣasī Hiḍimbā.[47] Names based on *Ghaṭa* are very rare in Sanskrit literature. Thus Gaṇeśa is named Ghaṭodara 'pot-bellied'.[48] The name Ghaṭotkaca refers to the practice of bearing traditional names based on Epics and Purāṇas. Derivatively it means a person having a hairless head.[49] In Prācīna Caritrakośa it has been suggested that Ghaṭotkaca was so called as his head was like a *ghaṭa* (pitcher) and was hairless.[50] Tripathi suggests on the basis of the Skanda Purāṇa that Ghaṭotkaca was so called as he produced a loud voice while laughing which may be compared to the voice produced by thumping the pitcher quite aloud at its mouth by hands.[51] But

the first derivation seems to be more plausible from linguistic point of view[52] while the other explanation may be more important from socio-psychological or mythological point of view.

It is possible that it was the nickname of Ghaṭotkaca which might have become his famous name.

3. *Candragupta I* :(No. 47, L.2; No. 53, L. 2; No. 40, L. 3; No. 21, L. 5; No. 1, L. 28; No. 30, L. 1) :

While his two predecessors are each given the title of *Mahārāja*, Candragupta I is described in the inscriptions as *Mahārājādhirāja*, 'king of kings'. Mookerjee connects the passage from the Purāṇas defining the extent of the Gupta territory with the period before Samudragupta, i.e., under Candragupta I.[53] It has been suggested that Caṇḍasena of the play 'Kaumudī-Mahotsava' is to be identified with Candragupta I. The Licchavi alliance is the common point in the account given by the drama and the inscriptions.[54] Other details of the drama, however, do not support this identification. The drama condemns Caṇḍasena as an usurper and belonging to low caste whom the citizens of Magadha could not tolerate and drove out to die in exile. Linguistically also Caṇḍasena and Candragupta are different names. Candra can become Caṇḍa in Prakrit but Gupta cannot be transformed into Sena. Moreover, in the fifth act of the play we are informed through a character Lokākṣī that the cursed Caṇḍasena has been killed and his royal family uprooted.[55] Thus we know about the total annihilation of the dynasty after the death of Caṇḍasena which is not applicable to the dynasty of Caṇḍragupta which ruled for several generations after him.[56] The name of the deity *Candra* 'moon' has been given to this king; Gupta is the surname. It may refer to his handsome physical features.

4. *Samudragupta* (No. 1, L. 29; No. 47, L. 3; No. 53, L. 3; No. 21, LL. 6-7; No. 2, L. 10; No. 40, L. 4; No. 41, L. 1; No. 10, L. 4; No. 49, L. 3; No. 50, L. 3; No. 13, L. 4; No. 12, L. 19) :

He is introduced as *Mahārājādhirāja* in all references except the Mathurā Pillar Inscription of Candragupta II, G.E. 61[57] where he is mentioned as *Bhaṭṭārakamahārāja rājādhirāja*. He was the daughter's son of the Licchavis, and son of *Mahārājā-*

dhirāja Śrī Candragupta I born on the queen Kumāradevī.[58] He has been mentioned as a '*Paramabhāgavata*' (a devout devotee of Lord Viṣṇu).[59] No. 2, L. 10 gives the justification of his name Samudragupta.[60] Mookerji says that the name Samudragupta was probably a title assumed after his conquests. It means 'protected by the sea' and may refer to his dominion which extended upto the sea. The Mathurā Inscription of Candragupta II actually describes the fame of his conquests as extending up to the four oceans (*caturudadhisalilāsvāditaya-śasaḥ*). The name Samudragupta may be split up into two parts, Samudra being his personal name, and Gupta being his surname. This is supported by the fact that the obverse of his coins of standard type sometimes bears the legend 'Samudra' while the reverse has '*Parākramaḥ*' as his title. The name 'Samudra' also appears on some other types of his coins, such as the Archer type and Battle-Axe type.[61] Mookerji[62] holds that Samudragupta's personal name was Kāca and that Samudragupta was his title. But the identification of Kāca with Samudragupta has been rightly opposed by scholars.[63] Vāmana in his Kāvyalaṁkāra[64] refers to Candraprakāśa as the son of Candragupta which Goyal takes to be another name of Samudragupta.[65] But it seems to be the name of a local king of Ayodhyā rather than that of a member of the Imperial Gupta dynasty.[66] Another probable and most suitable explanation of the name 'Samudragupta' may be 'protected by Lord Śiva', Samudra being an epithet of Śiva.[67]

Samudragupta is given many epithets in No. 1. Some of these are also supported by numismatic evidence.[68]

5. *Candragupta II* : (No. 30, L. 1, L. 2; No. 32, L. 2; No. 47, L. 4; No. 3, L. 1; No. 7, L. 1; No. 6, L. 1; No. 7, L. 10; No. 46, L. 3; No. 53, L. 4; No. 42, L. 1; No. 47, L. 4; No. 41, L. 2; No. 39, L 1, L. 6; No. 5. L. 3, L. 7; No. 20, L. 5) :

He is mentioned as '*apratiratha*', '*paramabhāgavata*' '*mahārājādhirāja*' and a son of *mahārājādhirāja* Śrī Samudragupta born of his chief queen Dattadevī; [69] or as *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja*, the good son of the *Bhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious Samudragupta;[70] or in one case simply as a king (rājā) in No. 30, L. 1. In No, 46, L. 3, L. 4, his title is '*Vikramāditya*'. He is

mentioned by other names as well. Devarāja as his favourite name (*priyanāma*) is mentioned in No. 5, L. 7.[71] In the Poona copper plate inscription of Prabhāvatīguptā and the Ridhapura grants of Prabhāvatīguptā her father's name is Candragupta.[72] The Chammak copper plate inscription of Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II, however, names Prabhāvatīguptā's father as Devagupta.[73] This proves that Devagupta was another name of Candragupta. Candragupta had a third name, Deva-Śrī, which appears on his Archer and Conch-types of Coins.[74] No. 32, L. 2 justifies his name Candragupta 'who is like a moon in the galaxy of Gupta kings with the famous name Candragupta'.[75] No. 20, L. 5 refers to his quality of handsomeness. 'His name was Candra and he was holding the glory of a full moon on his face'.[76]

6. *Govindagupta*: (No. 42, L. 2; No. 32, L. 3) :
In No. 42, he is mentioned as the son of Candragupta II. His mother's name was Dhruvasvāminī. No. 32 explains the basis of his name : "The lord of the earth, i.e. king Candragupta, produced a son whose exalted name was Govindagupta, who was as famous as Govinda (Viṣṇu) for the glory of his virtues, and who resembled the sons of Diti and Aditi, i.e. the demons and gods."[77] The poet means that Govindagupta resembled demons in physical strength and valour, and gods in spiritual virtues.

Govindagupta probably ruled as emperor between (his father) Candragupta II and (his younger brother) Kumāragupta I. His reign could not have been more than three years, the interval between the last known date of Candragupta II (G.E. 93) and the earliest known date of Kumāragupta I (G.E. 96).[78] P. L. Gupta assigns his short regnal period between A.D. 412 and 415.[79] That Govindagupta could have ruled as emperor only for a very short period is also evident from the fact that he has left no coins. Being a collateral, Govindagupta does not appear in the genealogical table in the inscriptions of Kumāragupta and his successors.[80]

It is also likely that Kumāragupta defeated or ousted Govindagupta and seized the throne; and after his accession, avoided all references to his elder brother.[81]

7. *Kumāragupta I*: (No. 30, L. 2; No. 53, L. 5; No. 49, L. 5;

No. 50, L. 5; No. 39, L. 7; No. 17, L.13; No. 30, L. 4; No. 31, L. 1; No. 39, L. 3; No. 46, L. 4; No. 35, LL.1-2; No. 34, L. 2) :

No. 30, L. 2 says that Śrī Candragupta's son Kumārgupta resembled the great Indra (Mahendra), who embraced and protected the whole earth.[82] In No. 53, L. 5 Kumāragupta is mentioned as '*Mahārājādhirāja*' son of '*paramabhāgavata Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī Candragupta' born of the cheif queen Dhruvadevī. He has been mentioned as father of Pūrugupta and son of Candragupta II.[83] In No. 30, L.4 Kumāragupta is described as shining (ruling) over the earth lIke the Sun in the winter. He is called '*Paramabhaṭṭāraka*' and '*Mahārājādhirāja*' in No. 31, L. 1. In No. 46, L. 4 he is mentioned only by his title '*Mahendrāditya*', and as the grandson of Samudragupta and son of Candragupta II. The Ārya-Mañju-Śrī-Mūlakalpa corroborates the title giving his name as Mahendra.[84] In No. 34, L. 2 he is mentioned as '*Paramadaivata*', '*Parmabhaṭṭāraka*' and '*Mahārājādhirāja*'.

Of the two parts of his name Kumāra is the name of god Skanda (or Kārttikeya)[85] and Gupta was his surname.

8. *Skandagupta* (No. 15, L. 3; No. 46, LL. 7-8; No. 14, L. 3; No. 16, L. 3; No. 13, L. 8; No. 12, LL. 6, 11, 23, 25) :

In No. 15 he is equated with Indra.[86] In No. 46 he is described as equal to the *Cakravartins* in prowess and valour, to Rāma in righteousness and to Yudhiṣṭhira in the matter of speaking the truth and in good conduct and modesty.[87] According to some scholars[88] these are vague praises; but in view of his achievements these epithets seem to be richly deserved. In No. 14, L. 2 he is described as '*rājarājādhirāja*', and as '*Paramabhāgavata*' and '*Mahārājādhirāja*' in No. 12, LL. 23, 25.

The name is based on god Skanda which is a synonym of Kārttikeya.

9. *Pūrugupta* (No. 47, L. 6; No. 53, L. 6; No. 49, L. 6; No. 50, L, 6; No. 38, L. 1) :

We know from No. 53 that *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī Pūrugupta was the son of *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī Kumāragupta by his chief queen Anantadevī. In No. 38, L. 1 the name of the father

and predecessor of Narasiṁhagupta is spelt as Pūrugupta.[89] The reading Pūrugupta is unmistakeable on the fragmentary Nālandā Seal of Narasiṁhagupta and is also fairly clear on the seals of Kumāragupta II. The medial *ū* sign in the first letter of the name Pūrugupta is indicated by an additional stroke attached to the base of the letter and the downward elongation of its right limb; mere elongation of the right limb by itself would have denoted the short medial *u* as in *puttras* in LL. 2 and 3. In the second letter of the name, viz. *ru.* the medial *u* is shown by a small hook turned to left and joined to the foot of *r*. Palaeographical considerations apart, the name Pur*u*gupta yields a more plausible-sense than Pur*a*gupta and fits better in the series of the grand and dignified names of the Gupta kings. The first part of the Gupta names constituted the real or substantive name and yielded satisfactory meaning independently of the latter half, viz. *gupta*, which being family surname was a mere adjunct. *Pura*, by itself is neither a complete nor a dignified name while *Puru* is both. *Pūru* or its variant *Puru* may, like *Vainya* in Vainyagupta signify the homonymous epic hero of the lunar race who was the ancestor of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas, or may mean abundant or great.[90]

10. *Kumāragupta II* : (No. 48, L. 5) :

Kumāragupta II was the immediate successor of Pūrugupta in the light of the data given in two dated inscriptions, viz. the Sarnath Buddha Stone Image inscriptions of Kumāragupta and Budhagupta. The first (No. 48) mentions A.D. 473 as the date of Kumāragupta who must, therefore, be taken as Kumāragupta II and the second (No. 54) mentions A.D. 476 as the date of Budhagupta. No. 48 records the date, Gupta year 154 [91] when Kumāragupta was protecting the earth.[92] The renovation of the Sun temple mentioned in No 17, LL. 20-21 seems to have taken place in his reign.[93] It seems that Mookerji has by mistake, connected the reference[94] meant for Kumāragupta I with Kumāragupta II.[95] The temple was originally constructed in the reign of Kumāragupta I in M.S. 493=A.D. 436 (L. 19).

11. *Budhagupta* : (No. 54, L. 1; No. 55, L. 2; No. 18, L. 2; No. 33, L. 1; No. 53, L. 8) :

Nos. 54, 55, 18 and 33 respectively mention him as reigning in :

G.Y. 157, 159, 163 and 165. No. 33 gives his titles as '*paramadaivata*', '*paramabhaṭṭāraka*' and '*mahārājādhirāja*'. In No. 53 he is mentioned as the son of Pūrugupta born of the queen Candradevī.[96] In No. 55 his title is *Mahārājādhirāja*. According to Sircar there is no space for the name of any other Gupta prince between Pūrugupta and Bhudhagupta and their relationship is clearly mentioned by the word '*putra*' occurring at the end of line 6.[97] In other words pūrugupta was the father of Budhagupta.

In his description of Nālandā, Hiuen Tsang says that the monastic establishments at that place were enriched by the successive endowments of Śakrāditya, Budhagupta, Tathāgatagupta and Bālāditya.[98] On the strength of this statement it has been suggested that Budhagupta was the son of Kumāragupta I who had the title of *Mahendrāditya* (Mahendra=Śakra).[99] In veiw of the clear epigraphic reference to the parentage of Budhagupta the proposed identification must be rejected.[100] The statement of Hiuen Tsang was based on hearsay and not on sound history, or else his Budhagupta is not to be identified with Budhagupta of the Imperial Gupta line.

The name Budhagupta is based on Mercury. Budhism had quite a prominent place in the time of Budhagupta. But in view of the special leaning of Gupta kings towards the brahmanical faith we prefer to interpret Budha as referring to Mercury either as god Mercury (regarded as a son of Soma or the Moon) or as the planet Mercury.[101]

12. *Narasiṁhagupta* : (No. 47, L. 8; No. 49, L. 7; No. 50, L. 7; No. 38, L. 2) :

Narasiṁhagupta has been mentioned as '*Paramabhāgavata*' and '*Mahārājādhirāja*'. Hiranand Shastri[102] says that the seal of Narasiṁhagupta (No. 47), though not entire is valuable in establishing his identity as the son of Pūrugupta born of the the queen consort Śrī Vainyadevī and not Vatsadevī as has hitherto been believed. But the correct reading of the name of her mother is Śrī Candradevī, on his seal.[103] In No. 50. L. 6 we find his mother's name as 'Vatsadevī'. In No. 49 he is mentioned as the father of Kumāragupta III. No. 38 describes the issuer of this seal, Viṣṇugupta, as the son and successor of Kumāragupta III, who in his turn was the son and successor

of Narasiṁhagupta.

Narasiṁha is the name of Viṣṇu in his fourth incarnation (Avatāra), half man and half lion who slew the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu and saved the life of Prahlāda.[104]

13. *Kumāragupta III* : (No. 49, L. 8; No. 50, L. 8; No. 38. L. 3; No. 47, L. 5) :

Kumāragupta mentioned in Nos. 49 (L. 8); 50(L. 8); 38 (L. 3); 47 (L. 5) should be considered as Kumārgupta III. He is described as the son and successor of Narasiṁhagupta and has been given the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*.

14. *Viṣṇugupta* (No. 38, L. 4) :

Viṣṇugupta is mentioned here as a *Paramabhāgavata* and *Mahārājādhirāja*. He was the son and successor of Kumāragupta III who in his turn was the son and successor of Narasiṁhagupta. Unfortunately the name of the mother of Viṣṇugupta (and the wife of Kumārgupta III) has been lost in the portion of the last line.

The Kalighat hoard[105] contained besides Candragupta II's coins those of Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta III and Viṣṇugupta. Altekar identified Viṣṇugupta of the coins with the homonymous ruler of the later Gupta family of Magadha, who flourished in the eighth century A.D.[106] At that time the learned professor had no knowledge of this seal of an earlier Viṣṇugupta.

His name is clearly based on god Viṣṇu.

B. Other members of the Dynasty

1. *Ghaṭotkacagupta* : (No. 45, L. 1; No. 30, L. 3) :

Ghaṭotkacagupta of No. 30 is identical wlth that of No. 45.

A distinction must be made between Ghaṭotkacagupta and Ghaṭotkaca, the latter being the grandfather of Samudragupta. Unfortunately the word expressing the exact relationship between Kumāragupta (the ruling emperor) and Ghaṭotkacagupta (the provincial governor) is lost in the missing portion of the inscription. He was probably a son or younger brother of Kumāragupta I[107] and may have been one of the claimants for the throne after the death of Kumāragupta I. Altekar considers him to be a brother of Kumāragupta.[108]

2. *Vainyagupta* : (No. 51, L. 5; No. 52, L. 1) :

Vainya is the synonym for the first king 'Pṛthu'.[109] Hiranand Shastri mentions Vainya as a synonym of Kubera, the god of wealth. According to Sir Richard Burn *Vainya* was another name of *Vajra* whom Hiuen Tsang mentions as the son of Bālāditya. He chiefly relies on the St. Petersburg dictionary where Vainya is derived from Vena and is connected with Indra; *Vajra* is the thunderbolt and *Vainya* is a patronymic from Vena who is Indra.[110] But the suggested identification is extremely far-fetched. *Vajra* cannot by any stretch of imagination be described as a synonym of *Vainya*. Moreover, it is difficult to believe that Hiuen Tsang would have referred to the king by such a name in preference of the real name.

In No. 51 Vainyagupta is mentioned as a *paramabhāgavata* and *mahārājādhirāja*, but in No. 53 he is described as a devotee of Lord Śiva (*bhagavān mahādevapādānudhyāta*) and a *mahārāja* only. Some scholars hold the opinion that it shall be wrong to disconnect Vainyagupta from the Gupta family on the basis of the argument that the Guptas were Vaiṣṇavas while Vainyagupta professed to be a Śaiva.[111] We find both the epithets '*paramabhāgavata*' and '*mahādevapādānudhyāta*' for him in our records.

It is interesting that even his Pādadāsa and Uparika are styled as mahārājas (LL.3 and 16). His title Mahārāja, therefore, cannot prove that Vainyagupta was an insignificant prince.[112]

The legend on No. 51, though partially preserved, resembles in point of style the legend on the other seals of the Imperial Guptas. Here Vainyagupta is specifically called *paramabhāgavata*. Moreover, his name, like those of other kings in the Gupta dynasty ends in the word Gupta. It is thus clear that Vainyagupta belonged to the line of the Imperial Guptas. He seems to have ruled in any case over considerable parts of Bengal and Bihar[113] almost immediately after Budhagupta. We do not know anything about the relationship of Vainyagupta with Budhagupta and Bhānugupta of the Eraṇ Inscription of A.D. 510.[114] Some scholars assign him a reign of four years before Bhānugupta (A.D. 510).[115]

The regnal period of Vainyagupta witnessed a considerable decline in the power and prestige of the Imperial Guptas. The

rise of the ruling dynasty consisting of Dharmāditya, Gopacandra and Samācāradeva in Central and South-West Bengal in the first half of the sixth Century A.D., possibly points to the extirpation of Gupta rule from Bengal excepting the bhukti (province) of Puṇḍravardhana (North Bengal).[116]

3. *Bhānugupta* (No. 19, L. 5) :
He is known only from No. 19. His no other coin or seal has yet come to light. As regards the position of Bhānugupta, several alternatives are possible. First, he may have been a successor of Vainyagupta and the dominions of both may have included parts of Eastern Malwa. Second, Vainyagupta may have been the lord of the eastern part of the Gupta Empire when its western part was being ruled by Bhānugupta. Third, Bhānugupta may have been a viceroy in the Malwa region like Govindagupta and Ghaṭotkacagupta. It is possible that he belonged to the Imperial Gupta line but whether he succeeded Vainygupta, or the two ruled at the same time respectively over the western and eastern parts of the empire, is difficult to determine. The latter view seems more probable and this internal dissension perhaps paved the way for the downfall of the empire.[117] Bhānugupta, in spite of the high encomiums paid to his bravery in Eraṇ Inscription, remains a shadowy figure, and we do not know what was his position in the Gupta Imperial family, or what part he played in the dark days of the Gupta empire.[118]

His name is based on the god Sun 'Bhānu'.

NAMES OF THE GUPTA QUEENS

Following are the names of the Gupta queens available in our inscriptions. They have been mentioned as Mahādevīs.

1. Kumāradevī
2. Dattadevī
3. (a) Dhruvadevī
   (b) Dhruvasvāminī
4. Anantadevī
5. Candradevī
6. Śrīva (tsa) devī
7. Mitradevī

1. *Kumāradevī* : (No. 1, L. 29; No. 4, L. 8; No. 10, L. 4;

No. 12, L. 18; No. 13, L. 3; No. 21, LL. 5-6; No. 40, L. 4; No. 47, L. 2; No. 53, L. 2; No. 49. L. 2; No. 50, L. 2) :

She was the wife of Candragupta I and the mother of Samudragupta. Kumāra, the basis of her name has already been explained under Kumāragupta.

2. *Dattadevī* (No. 4, L. 10; No. 10, L. 5; No. 12, L. 20; No. 13, L. 4; No. 47, L. 3; No. 53, L. 3; No. 49, L. 3; No. 50, L. 3) :

She is mentioned as the wife of Samudragupta and the mother of Candragupta II. *Datta* means 'given' or protected.[119] We also find '*Datta*' as the name-ending suffix for male names in literature.

3 (a) *Dhruvadevī* (No. 53, L. 5; No. 12, L. 21; No. 13, L.5; No. 49, L. 4; No. 50, L. 4; No. 47, L. 5) :

She was the mother of Kumāragupta I and the wife of Candragupta II. Literally '*Dhruva*' means unchangeable or constant. It is also the name of the polar star (personified as son of Uttāna-pāda and grandson of Manu).[120]

3 (b). *Dhruvasvāminī* (No. 42, LL. 3-4) :

We come to know of Dhruvasvāminī only in No. 42. Lines 1-3 mention her as the wife of Candragupta II and the mother of Govindagupta. As we have noticed Dhruvadevī elsewhere appears as the wife of Candragupta II and mother of Kumāragupta I. It is not much likely that Candragupta II had two queens with almost identical names. As the real name of the two is the same (Dhruva) it would be better to hold that Dhruvasvāminī was another name of Dhruvadevī and Kumāragupta I and Govindagupta were real brothers.

4. *Anantadevī* (No. 49, L. 5; No. 50, L. 5; No. 53, L. 6; No. 47, L. 6) :

She is mentioned as the wife of Kumāragupta I and the mother of Pūrugupta. According to Monier Williams *Ananta* is the name alike of Viṣṇu, Śeṣa (The Snake-god), Śeṣa's brother Vāsuki; Kṛṣṇa, his brother Baladeva, Śiva and Rudra; and is also included in the list of the Viśve-devas and the Arhats, etc.

5. *Candradevī*[121] (No. 47, L. 7; No. 53, L. 7) :

The name of the mother of Budhagupta occurring at the beginning of the extant portion of line 7 is not clearly legible; it

consists of four letters, the first of which is either *ca* or *va* and the second is certainly *n* with some subscript mark or letter; the third and fourth letters clearly read *devyām*. It is, therefore, highly probable that her name was Candradevī, known from some seals to have been the name of the queen of Pūrugupta. Hiranand Shastri takes the relevant legend to be '*Śrīvainya-devyām*'[122] but regards the correct reading to be *Candra* in place of *Vainya*.[123]

No. 47 mentions Candradevī as the name of the mother of Narasiṁhagupta.

In No. 53 Candradevī is mentioned as the mother of Budhagupta and wife of Pūrugupta.

The name Candradevī is based on the god Candra (Moon).

6. *Śrīva* (*tsa*) *devī*[124] (No. 49, L. 6; No. 50, L. 6) :

'*Śrīva*' is clearly legible but the terminal '*tsa*' can only faintly be seen.

She is mentioned as the wife of Pūrugupta and mother of Narasiṁhagupta. 'Śrīvatsa' is the name of Viṣṇu, which literally means 'beloved or favourite of Śrī' (Lakṣmī).[125] It is also a symbol or mark of Viṣṇu.[126]

7. *Mitradevī* (No. 49, LL. 7-8; No. 50, L. 7) :

No. 49 mentions *mahādevī* Sumatidevī as the wife of Narasiṁhagupta and mother of Kumāragupta III. Fleet read the name as Mahālakṣmīdevī[127] and Hoernle as 'Śrīmatīdevī'.[128] But in No. 50 the reading is clearly 'Mitradevī'.[129] Mitra is one of the several names of the Solar deity.

REFERENCES

1. Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, (DX)[1], L. 29, p. 28.

2. (DX)[1]. p. 258, L. 1

3. Sarnath Buddhist Stone Image Inscription of Budha Gupta, G.Y. 157, CJ. 1914-15, pp. 124-125. L.I., Sarnath Budhist Stone Inscription of Kumāragupta II, G.Y. 154, CJ. 1914-15.

4. Cf. Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, (DX)[1]. LL. 28-29, p. 8

5. It may be noted that here also the epithet Śrī indicates that the founder's name was 'Gupta'.

Cf. D.C. Sircar, JJ. XIX, p. 19 : "The first known king of the Gupta dynasty was Gupta whose son was Ghaṭotkaca; but when the latter's son Candragupta I founded an empire, his descendants always stuck to the

name-ending gupta and soon the family became known as the Gupta dynasty";

Cf. Dashrath Sharma, Journal of the Bihar Research Society, XXXIX, p. 265.

6. *Śrī-śrīmatyām :* (DX)[1]. p. 215, L. 2.

7. Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, (DX)[1] L. 28, p. 8.

8. B.G. Gokhale, **Ez.** p. 28.

9. For details of abbreviated names, places, see Agrawala, Jy., pp. 190-192.

10. **Lj.** Vol. LIII, part I, p. 119, and note.

11. **(DX)[1]**. p. 8, note 3.

12. **GJ.** XV, pp. 42-43.

13. *D.D. Kosambi,* **G.** p. 290.

14. See F.W. Thomas, 'The Root √gup and the Guptas', **UJ**, 1909, pp. 740-743.

15. Book, III, chap. 10, verse 9.

16. See also F.E. Hall's edition of H.H. Wilson's Translation, Vol. III, p. 99f.

17. Mānavadharmaśāstra, II, 31, Burnell's Translation, p. 20.

18. This is shown by the appearance of the name of Kumāradevī and her father's family on some gold coins of Candragupta I, and by the regular use of the epithet, "daughter's son of Licchavi (or of a Licchavi king)" for Samudragupta in the genealogical passages in the inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty.

19. To give other examples :

Viṣṇugupta is the name of the Sūtrakāra and Bhāṣyakāra of the Arthaśāstra

Arthaśāstra 15/1/4 स्वयमेव विष्णुगुप्तश्चकार सूत्रं च भाष्यं च ।।

Padmagupta is the name of a dramatist, the author of the Navasāhasāṅkacaritam.

Vasugupta is the auther of the Śivasūtras.

In the Chapter XII of the Tantrāloka, Chapter 37, we find clear mention of the brahmanic names with Gupta-endings.

1. Atrigupta as a *brāhmaṇa (dvijanmā)* Vol. XII, chap. 37, Kārikā 38.
2. Varāhagupta, Ibid., 53;
3. Narasiṁhagupta, Ibid., 54;
4. Abhinavagupta, Ibid., 56;
5. Lakṣmaṇagupta, Ibid., 61; (Teacher of Abhinavagupta)
6. Manorathagupta, Ibid., 64;
7. Kṣemagupta, Utpalagupta, Abhinavagupta, Cakragupta, Padmagupta (All cousins of Abhinavagupta), Ibid., 67.
8. Rāmagupta, Ibid., 68.

20. **HJ.** Vol. IX, p.131.

21. K.D. Bajpai, **Cz.** p. 119 *:* A circular lead piece bearing the seal mark of Indragupta *'rano Indagutasa'* inscribed in the Mauryan Brāhmī script was recovered which gave the name of a king who ruled over

Eraṇ about 200 B.C.

22. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.**, p. 475.

23. Ibid., p. 436

See Ibid., pp. 436-37, f.n. 9 : The queen refers to her paternal *gotra* rather than that of her husband's family and thus contradicts the injunctions of the Smṛtis, p.439.

24. Ibid., p. 443

25. K.P. Jayaswal, **Ay**. pp. 115-16.

26. B.G. Gokhale, **Ez**. pp. 25-26.

27. **NJ**. 1934, p. 235.

28. Ibid., XIX, pp. 115-16.

Majumdar disagrees with this surmise. Some scholars have given the emendation 'Gupta' for the original *jarto, jato,* or *japto* which also is not, however, acceptable (R.C. Majumdar; **Pg**. p. 197, see f.n.l).

Hoernle while identifying the people with jāṭs interprets the passage as referring to the defeat of the Hūṇas by Yaśodharman.

29. H.C. Raychaudhuri, **Az**. p. 526, f.n. 1.

30. **ZJ**. Vol. VII, No. 1 (January 1965), pp. 183-85.

31. Ibid., p. 185, f.n. 8; (Cf. Mitākṣarā)

'राजन्यविशां प्रातिस्विक् गोत्राभावात् प्रवराभावस्तथापि पुरोहितप्रवरो' वेदितव्यो ।

This is the view also of Baudhāyana, Āpastamba and Laugākṣī.

32. S.R. Goyal, **D.**, pp. 78-81.

33. Ibid., p. 78.

34. Ibid.,

35. Ibid., p. 80.

36. Ibid., p. 81.

37. These three marriages are not of much importance as a *brāhmaṇa* can marry in any caste according to the injunctions of the Smṛtis. So even being of lower class than brāhmaṇas, Guptas could have married their daughters to the brāhmaṇas.

38. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg**. p. 170 ; It has been suggested that Candragupta II arranged a marriage between his son and the daugther of Kāku (t) stha Varman, the most powerful ruler of the Kadamba family who was the ruler of Kuntala, Kanarese country in the Bombay Presidency.

39. Cf. Ibid., p. 170.

40. Ibid., p. 169.

41. Ibid., p. 128.

42. Majumdar says that 'we may reasonably assume that the marriage of Candragupta and Kumāradevī led to the amalgamation of the Gupta principality with the Licchavī State, and the epithet *licchavi-dauhitra* was deliberately given to Samudragupta to emphasize his right of succession to the dual monarchy'.

R.C. Majumdar, **Pg**. 129.

Cf. V.S. Pathak, TJ, XIX. Pt. II, pp. 140-41: Pathak takes the meaning of dauhitra in the technical sense of the Smṛtis, i.e., "a person having dual parentage *(dvāmuṣyāyaṇa)*".

43. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.**, p. 436. Poona Copper-plate Inscription of Prabhāvatīguptā, LL. 7-10.

44. We know that Seleucus married his daughter to Candragupta Maurya even though the Greeks used the word barbarian for non-Greeks, Xz, p. 91 and were not in favour of mixing with them. Marriages among kings attached more significance to political than to social considerations.

45. D.D. Kosambi, G. p. 290.

46. **GJ**, Vol. XXVI, No. 11, p. 117, L. 3.

47. **Fz.** p. 375, col. 1; Mahābhārata, i, iii, Bhāgavata Purāṇa, ix, 22, 29.

48. Kathāsaritsāgara, IV. 165.

49. **Fz.**, p. 375, col. 1 घट=the head (Mahābhārata I, 155, 38).
Ibid., p. 175, Col. 3 उत्कच=hairless

50. सिद्धेश्वरशास्त्री चित्राव, भारतवर्षीय प्राचीन चरित्रकोश, पृ० 198

51. भगीरथ प्रसाद त्रिपाठी, पाणिनीयधातुपाठसमीक्षा, पृ० 148 ;
घटोत्कच √गग्घ् (गग्घ) हसने ।
भीमसूनोरभिधेयं घटवद् हसनत्वात् 'घटोत्कच' इति जातम्—तव-रूपमहं दृष्ट्वा घटहासं सदोत्कचम् ।
प्रणम्य पादयोर्वीर! स्थिता ते वचनङ्करी ॥ स्कन्द पुराण. 1.60.7

52. In coloquial Punjabi a hairless person is called 'Roḍā', 'Roḍū'. He is generally referred so in his absence but in presence called so in rough tone or satirically. In Bengali such a person is called 'Nyārāmāthā' and in Telugu it is called 'Guṇḍu'.

53. R.K. Mookerjee, **Ag.**, p. 13 :
"The kings born of the Gupta family will rule over the territories (Janapadas) situated along the Ganges (anu Gaṅgā) such as Prayāga, Sāketa (Oudh) and Magadha".

54. Ibid., p. 14.

55. निहतश्चण्डसेनहतक:.........उन्मूलितचण्डसेनराजकुलम् ।

56. Jagannath 'The Kaumudīmahotsava as a Historical Play. E. pp. 116-117.

57. **GJ**. Vol. XXI, No. 1, p. 8, L. 1.

58. No. 1, L. 29.

59. No. 40, L. 4.

60. No. 2, L. 10 : (पुत्रो) बभूव हि धनदान्तक—तुष्टि-कोप तुल्य: (पराक्र) मनयेन समुद्रगुप्त: ।

61. **Ag.** p. 17.

62. Ibid.,

63. **Rx.**, pp. 54-59.
UJ., 1889, pp. 75-76; **UJ**, 1893, p. 95; **HJ**, 1902, p. 259; **(Dx)**[1], p. 27;

64. III. 2.2.

65. S.R. Goyal, **D.**, p. 209.

66. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg.**, pp. 155-56.

67. **Fz.**, p. 1166, col. 3 :

D.C. Sircar, **Hz**, pp. 290-91, f. n. 4.

68. R.K. Mookerji, **Ag**. p. 40.
69. No. 53, L. 4.
70. No. 41, L. 2.
71. (Dx) 1, p. 32, note 1;

Ibid., p. 33, note 6, Fleet takes it as the name of one of his ministers.

72. D.C. Sircar, **Hz**. pp. 436, 439.
73. Ibid, p. 444. LL. 14-16.

...वाकाटकानां महाराज श्रीरुद्रसेनसूनोर्म्महाराजाधिराज-श्रीदेवगुप्त-सुतायां प्रभावती गुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य.........।

74. R.K. Mookerji, **Ag**. pp. 44-45.
75. No. 32, L. 2 : गुप्तकुलव्योम्नि चन्द्रकल्प: चन्द्रगुप्तप्रथिताभिधान: ।
76. No. 20, L. 5 : चन्द्राह्वेन समग्रचन्द्रसदृशीं वक्त्रश्रियं बिभ्रता ।

See the appendix No. 1.

77. No. 32, LL. 3-4 : गोविन्दवत्ख्यात-गुणप्रभावो गोविन्दगुप्तोर्ज्जित-नामधेयम् । वसुन्धरेशस्तनयं प्रजज्ञे स दित्यदित्योस्तनयैस्सरूपम् ॥
78. Cf. Jagannath, 'Govindagupta, a new Gupta emperor', **JJ**, XXII, pp. 286 ff.
79. P.L. Gupta, **Sx**, p. 300.
80. **GJ**. 27, pp. 13-14.
81. **YJ**. p. 94.
82. D.C. Sircar, **Hz**. p. 297 :

...श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य महेन्द्रकल्प: कुमारगुप्तस्तनयस्समग्राम् ।
ररक्ष साध्वीमिव धर्म्मपत्नीम् वीर्य्याग्रहस्तैरुपगुह्य भूमिम् ॥

83. Nos. 49, 50, L. 5.
84. R.K. Mookerji, **Ag**. p. 91.
85. **Fz**. p. 292.
86. No. 15, L. 3 : राज्ये शक्रोपमस्य क्षितिप-शत-पते: स्कन्दगुप्तस्य शान्ते ।
87. No. 46, LL. 4-8: तस्य पुत्र: चक्रवर्त्तितुल्यो महाबलविक्रमेण रामतुल्यो धर्म्मपरतया युधिष्ठिर सत्येनाचारविनयै: महाराज-श्रीस्कन्दगुप्तस्य...।
88. **GJ**., XXXIII, p. 307.
89. Purugupta was originally read as Puragupta—D.C. Sircar, **Hz**., p. 330, f.n. 2.
90. **Gj**. 26, pp. 237-38 : M.A. Winternitz, **By**. Vol. I, pp. 379-80. From the Mahābhārata 1, 75 and 1, 76-93, we know of the Yayāti-legend which states that Yayāti having become old demanded the youth of his sons to enjoy more lust, but every one declined except the youngest Pūru who declared his willingness. Pūru left his youth for Yayāti. After enjoying the pleasures of youth for another thousand years Yayāti still felt dissatisfied. At last he took up the burden of his old age and returned his son Pūru his youth. He installed Puru on the throne and retired to the forest.
91. No. 48, L. 1 वर्षशते गुप्तानां सचतु: पञ्चाशदुत्तरे [गुप्तसम्वत् 154=ई. सं 473)

92. No. 48, I. 1 :.........भूमिं रक्षति कुमारगुप्ते...... ।

93. No. 17, LL. 20-21 : वत्सरशतेषु पंचसु विंशत्यधिकेषु नवसु चाब्देषु— [मालवसंवत् 529 =ई. सं. 472) ;

See also U.N. Roy, Lz. pp. 59-65.

94. No. 17, L. 13 :.........कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीं प्रशासति ॥

95. R.K., Mookerji, Ag., p. 109.

96. See the appendix No. II.

97. JJ. XIX, p. 274.

98. S. Beal, U. II, p. 168.

99. Raychaudhuri, Az. p. 265.

100. JJ., XIX, pp. 123-24;
D.C. Sircar, Hz. p. 331, f.n.l.

101. Fz. p. 734 : Moreover Buddha (the name of lord Buddha) is spelt different from Budhagupta (one letter '*d*' in the first part of the name is elided). The former means 'awakened' or fully enlightened man who has got wisdom, while the latter means the Constellation Mercury.

102. XJ. No. 66, p. 29.

103. See the appendix No. II.

104. Fz. p. 529.

105. Allan, Z. p. CXXVI.

106. As is known from his newly discovered inscription dated in the Year 117 (Harṣa Era)—A.D. 723.
TJ., Vol. III, Part I, pp. 57 ff.

107. GJ, Vol. XXVI, p. 117.

108. Rx, p. 186.

109. Fz., p. 1023; Ṛgveda, VIII. IX. 10; JJ, Vol. VI, p. 57, note 2.

110. XJ., No. 66, p. 29.

111. JJ.VI, pp. 50-51.

112. Cf. R.C. Majumdar, Cg. Vol. I, pp. 49-50.

113. D.C. Sircar, Hz. p. 341, note 4.

114. D.C. Sircar, Hz. p. 346 f.

115. JJ. VI, pp. 50-51.

116. Ibid., XIX, pp. 275-76; Cf. R.C. Majumdar, Pg. pp. 210-11

117. R.C. Majumdar, Pg. p. 190.

118. Ibid., p. 191.

119. Fz. p. 467.

120. Ibid., p. 521.

121. See the appendix No. II

122. XJ. No. 66, p. 65, L. 7.

123. Ibid., note 2 (Also see CJ. 1934-35, p. 63).

124. See the appendix No. II.

125. Fz. p. 1100, col. i.

126. Ibid.,

127. HJ. XIX, p. 225.

128. LJ. Vol. LVIII (1889), p. 89.

129. The reading is checked by me. The name 'Mitradevī' is clear in No. 50, Plate VIII (e) of the seal of 'Kumāragupta III, in XJ., No. 66 (see the plates attached in the last portion of the Journal)

Names of Feudatory Kings and High Officers

NAMES OF FEUDATORY KINGS

First, we analyse the names of subordinate rulers or feudatory kings dividing them into the following categories :

Names based on Gaṇapati

1. *Gaṇapati* (No. 1, L. 13) :
One of the kings said to have been uprooted by Samudragupta in northern India. The name violates the laws laid down by the Gṛhya-sūtras which prohibit the giving of the names of deities to human-beings directly.[1]

2. *Gaṇapatināga* (No. 1, L. 21) :
Another king of Āryyāvartta defeated by Samudragupta. The first part is Gaṇapati and the second is 'nāga', which signifies that the king belonged to the Nāga dynasty. He probably ruled at Mathurā.[2]

Names based on Moon

1. *Candravarmman* : (No. 1, L. 21) :
One of the kings of Āryyāvartta defeated by Samudragupta. The first part is Candra and second is 'Varmma' which is a form for the original term 'varman', a surname generally used for kṣatriyas. He may be identified with the king of that name whose record has been found at Susunia in Bankura district, Bengal.[3]

2. *Suraśmicandra* (No. 18, L. 4) :
He is described as the ruler of the country that lies between the rivers Kālindī and Narmadā, and governing with the qualities of a regent lording, one of the quarters of the world, and enjoying the title of a mahārāja during the reign of Budhagupta.

Literally it means 'a moon possessed of good rays'.

Names based on Nāga

1. *Nāgadatta* (No. 1, L. 21) :
One of the kings of Āryyāvartta defeated by Samudragupta. The first part is Nāga which refers most likely to 'a holy serpent' and the second is 'datta' meaning given. Thus the full name may mean 'born by the grace of a Nāga'. D.C. Sircar takes the compound as a Caturthī Tatpuruṣa instance meaning 'dedicated to a Nāga'. However, the compounds are usually taken as Tṛtīyā Tatpuruṣa instances. The names do not indicate towards bali but such names as Gurudatta, Śivadatta and Nāgadatta may exhibit reverence to Guru, Śiva or Nāga by whose worship or blessings the son was born which is attested to by tradition of such names.

2. *Nāgasena* (No. 1, L. 13, 21) :
The first part of the name is Nāga and the second is sena. Nāgasena of the L. 13 and L. 21 looks to be the same.[4] According to L. 21 he was one of the kings of Āryyāvartta uprooted by Samudragupta. In L. 13 he is mentioned as having been defeated by Samudragupta by the valour of his arms. He seems to have been an important king.[5]

Names based on Śiva

1. *Rudradatta* (No. 52, L. 3) :
He is given the designation of a *mahārāja* and is mentioned as a *pādadāsa* (slave of the feet) of Vainyagupta. The first part literally meaning roaring, dreadful or terrible[6] denotes Śiva and the second 'given'; the full name meaning 'given by Lord Śiva'.

2. *Rudradeva* (No. 1, L. 21) :
He is described as one of the kings of Āryyāvartta defeated by Samudragupta. The first part of the name is Rudra which denotes Lord Śiva and the second is 'deva' which means 'god'. It is another name based on Lord Śiva. Rudradeva has been differently identified by various scholars. Dr. D.C. Sircar has identified him with the Western Satrap Rudrasena II or his son Rudrasena III, while K.P. Jayaswal, K.N. Dikshit and R.N. Dandekar identify him with Vākāṭaka Rudrasena I. U.N. Roy[7] differing with the above scholars proposes his

identification with Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Rudrasena II, the son of Pṛthviṣeṇa I.

3. *Ugrasena* (No. 1, L. 20) :
He is mentioned as a ruler of Pālakka during the reign of Samudragupta. Ugra meaning 'powerful mighty or terrible', is another name of Rudra or Śiva.[8] Sena is merely a surname. Or we can give another explanation of the whole as *Ugrā senā asya*, i.e. 'having mighty army'.

Names based on Sun

We find only one such name which is as given below :—

1. *Prabhākara* (No. 32, L. 8) :
He is described as a king (bhūmipati) and a destroyer of the enemies of the Gupta dynasty. He was the overlord of Dattabhaṭa. He is not known from any other source. The name of his capital or territory is not mentioned. Probably he was the contemporary local chief of Daśapura and a feudatory ally of the Guptas in their struggle against the Hūṇas.[9] Dattabhaṭa does not include in the inscription the genealogy of his master. It is possible that Prabhākara was a self-made man who did not have a distinguished ancestor worthy of record. He may have been appointed as a ruler of Daśapura by the paramount power, after the extinction of the Varman dynasty.[10] That Prabhākara was not a scion of the Varman dynasty would also appear from his name which, unlike the names of the known members of that dynasty, does not end in Varman.[11] The name violates the laws of Gṛhyasūtras which forbid the direct imposition of the names of deities upon human-beings.

Names based on Viṣṇu

1. *Acyutanandin* (No. 1, L. 21) :
He is included in the list of kings of Āryyāvartta forcefully uprooted by Samudragupta. Acyuta is the name of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa,[12] and Nandin is the name of an attendant of Śiva and also the name of Śiva's bull.[13] So literally the expression would mean 'one who is a servant of god Visṇu'. Nandin also means gladdening or rejoicing.[14] So it may also mean 'one who pleases or wins over god Viṣṇu'.

Acyutanandin seems to have been a ruler of Ahicchatra

(near Bareilly district).[15] The Purāṇas give names ending in 'Nandin' in the list of Nāga kings and coins bearing 'Acyuta' have been found from Ahicchatra.[16] Therefore, it is possible that Ahicchatra was a seat of government of Acyutanandin.

2. *Dhanyaviṣṇu* (No. 18, L. 8) :
He was the grandson of mahārāja Indraviṣṇu and younger brother of mahārāja Mātṛviṣṇu. We also find his name in line 5 of the Eraṇ Stone Boar Inscription of the time of Toramāṇa (A.D. 500-515).[17] It signifies the tendency of naming persons by using adjectives before the names of deities. Dhanya means 'bringing or bestowing wealth or the opulent'.[18]

3. *Hariviṣṇu* (No. 18, L. 6) :
He was the great-grandfather of mahārāja Mātṛviṣṇu. Hari here specifies the Kṛṣṇa apparition of Viṣṇu.[19]

4. *Indraviṣṇu* (No. 18, L. 5) :
He has been mentioned as a mahārāja, great-grand-father of Mātṛviṣṇu; a brāhmaṇa devoted to studies and celebrating sacrifices and belonging to Maitrāyaṇīya (śākhā). The vedic counterpart is Indrāviṣṇū m. dual.

5. *Matṛviṣṇu* : (No. 18, L. 7) :
He was the installer of the stone pillar at Eraṇ, a mahārāja, grandson of mahārāja Indraviṣṇu. We also find his name in the Eraṇ Stone Boar Inscription of the time of Toramāṇa (A.D. 500-515).[20] Mātṛ stands for one of the seven Mātṛkās[21] and may refer to the prevalence of the Mātṛ cult. The name is formed by the similar process of the combination of the names of two deities, Mātṛ and Viṣṇu. Mātṛ, if taken as a short form for the Vedic Mātariśvan, together with Viṣṇu would mean Agni and Viṣṇu an interpretation that is relevant to the context.

6. *Varuṇaviṣṇu* (No. 18, L. 5) :
He was the grandfather of mahārāja Mātṛviṣṇu. The name is based on the combination of the names of two deities Varuṇa and Viṣṇu. Varuṇa is the sea-god of the Vedic pantheon.

7. *Viṣṇudāsa* (No. 3, L. 2) :
Mahārāja Viṣṇudāsa belonged to the Sanakānīka family. Viṣṇu signifies the Lord Viṣṇu and dāsa means 'a servant'. Thus the whole literally means 'a servant or devotee of Lord Viṣṇu'.

8. *Viṣṇugopa* (No 1, L. 19) :
A ruler of Kāñcī. According to Diskalkar Viṣṇugopa is undoubtedly identical with an early Pallava king of that name.[22]

It can be a synonym of Lord Kṛṣṇa who originally an incarnation of Viṣṇu took his birth as the son of Nanda who was a Gopa.

Now we study the names grouping them according to their suffixes.

Names ending in 'datta'

1. *Parṇadatta* (No. 14, L. 8, L. 9) :
He is mentioned as a ruler of Surāṣṭra appointed by Skandagupta. He was the father of governor Cakrapālita. Sankalia considers it to be an Iranian name.[23] But it can can very well be an Indian name. Parṇa means a leaf and is as well the name of a tree called Palāśa. We find 'Parṇadatta' to be the name of a man in the Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā.[24] It signifies 'a person born as a result of the worship of the Parṇa (Palāśa) tree'.

2. *Svāmidatta*[25] (No. 1, L. 19) :
He is mentioned as one of the Dakṣiṇāpatha kings. He was a ruler of Koṭṭūra and was defeated by Samudragupta.

Literally the name means 'given by God', the first part being Svāmin and the second datta'.

Names ending in 'Giri'

1. *Mahendragiri*[26] (No. 1, L. 19) :
The first part is Mahendra, i.e., the great Indra and the second is 'giri', which means a mountain. It is also an honorific name later on given to one of the ten orders of the Das-nami Gosains (founded by ten pupils of Śaṅkarācārya; the word giri is added to the name of each member).[27] We also find it used with the names of ascetics.

He was one of the Dakṣiṇāptha kings defeated by Samudragupta.

Names ending in Mitra

Puṣyamitra (No. 13, L. 11,) :
The name is mentioned in plural.[28] It is said that Puṣyamitras

who had developed great power and wealth were defeated by king Skandagupta.

The other readings suggested by scholars are Puṣpamitra and Yudhyamitra. But a careful scrutiny will support the reading Puṣyamitra as more likely. In the passages quoted by Bühler from the Prakrit Gāthās, ascribed to Merutuṅga, Dharmasāgara and Jayavijayāgni[29], the name of the early king Puṣyamitra, the contemporary of Patañjali appears as Pusamitta and thus supports the reading Puṣyamitra.

Puṣyamitra in plural may denote the followers of king Puṣyamitra. Puṣyamitra, the name of a tribe in Central India, is also mentioned in the Purāṇas.

Names ending in Rājan(Rāja)

1. *Devarāja* (No. 5, L. 7) :

Fleet fills up the lacuna[30] and takes Devarāja to be the name of an officer of Candragupta II.[31] But D.C. Sircar takes it as another name of Candragupta II.[32] The view of Sircar is more plausible and has been generally accepted by scholars.[33] It may, however, be noted that in Vākāṭaka grants Devagupta is mentioned as another name of Candragupta II.[34]

Literally the name means 'a king of gods' which is also another name of Indra.

2. *Goparāja* (No. 19, LL. 3, 5) :

A feudatory cheif who is said to have accompanied the mighty king glorious Bhānugupta and fought a famous battle. Goparāja died in the battle and his wife burnt herself on the funeral pyre along with him.

The inscription informs us that he was the son of a king named Mādhava, and was the daughter's son of the Śarabha king, belonging to the lineage of Lakṣa of which he is described as an ornament.

Literally the name means 'a king of the Gopas', i.e., milkmen or Ahīras. *Rāja* is a surname signifying 'the king'.

3. *Maṇṭarāja* (N. 1, L. 19) :

King of Kurūḷa, one of the rulers of Dakṣṇāpatha defeated by Samudragupta.

In this name the first part is Maṇṭa and the second is Rāja. The meaning of the first part is not clear. It is clearly not a

Sanskrit word. As Woolner has pointed out words with cerebrals are often non-Āryan or influenced by non-Āryan elements.[35] Another possibility is that these names show dialectal elements. Even now-a-days we give names like Maṇṭu, Baṇṭu, etc., to little children. There is also a possibility that the Sanskrit word 'mantra' meaning 'a hymn or magical formula' got changed to 'maṇṭa' through a process of Prakritization, or we may derive it from an artificial root 'maṇṭ' to act as intermediator.[36]

4. *Nīlarāja* (No. 1, LL. 19-20) :
A king of Avamukta, one of the Dakṣiṇāpatha kings defeated by Samudragupta. The first part of the name is *Nīla* and the second is *rāja.*

Nīla means 'of dark colour' especially blue or green or black[37] and is also the name of a Nāga and *rāja* is the surname added to it.

5. *Śarbharāja* (No. 19, L. 4) :
He was the maternal grandfather of Goparāja, the feudatory chief of king Bhānugupta.

Śarabha is the name of a people and also refers to a fabulous animal supposed to have eight legs and to inhabit the snowy mountains; it is represented as stronger than the lion and the elephant.[38] The name may literally mean 'a king of the Śarabha people'. It may also be treated as a name based on an animal.

6. *Vyāghrarāja* (No. 1, L. 19) :
He was the ruler of Mahākāntāra and was one of the kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha defeated by Samudragupta. He has been identified with the Vākāṭaka feudatory prince Vyāghra whose inscriptions have been found at Nach-ne-ki-talai and Ganj in Central India, who is also said to have been the ruler of the Ucchakalpa dynasty in Bundelkhand.[39] But an objection to this view is that he must be a ruler in Dakṣiṇāpatha as mentioned in our inscription and has accordingly been identified with the ruler of Mahā-vana, a synonym of Mahā-kāntāra, also called Jeypore forest in Orissa.[40]

The name is based on the animal *Vyāghra,* or tiger implying that in Mahākāntāra his subordinate chiefs were like tigers and he was their ruler. The name is a good selection in the

context of the fact that the region of Mahākāntāra is known to have been infested with tigers.

7........*rāja* (No. 19, L. 3) :
The first part of the name has been damaged. He was a king and was the grandfather of Goparāja, the feudatory chief of king Bhānugupta. He was the founder of the Lakṣa lineage.

Names ending in Varman

1. *Balavarmman* (No. 1, L. 21) :
One of the kings of Āryyāvartta said to have been forcefully uprotted by Samudragupta. The first part of the name is Bala which means strength or power and the second part Varmman is a surname used for kṣatriyas. The name may literally mean 'one who protects with his power'.

It is a name based on quality.

2. *Bandhuvarmman* (No. 17, L. 15, L. 16) :
Bandhuvarmman was the son of Viśvavarman. He was probably a feudatory chief, ruling at Dasapura, Mandasor in Western Malwa,[41] in the time of Kumāragupta I. He has been mentioned as a king (nṛpa) governing the city of Daśapura and it was under his rulership that the Sun-temple was caused to be built by the guild of silk-cloth weavers at Mandasor (Daśapura). The relevant lines in the inscription lay a stress on his name Bandhu. He is described as possessed of firmness and statesmanship; beloved of (his) kinsmen; the relative, as it were, of (his) subjects; the remover of the afflictions of (his) connections; pre-eminently skilful in destroying the ranks of (his) proud enemies.[42] Varman is a kṣatriya surname meaning 'the protector', the entire expression may literally be translated as 'the protector of his relatives'.

3. *Bhīmavarman* (No. 26, L. 1) :
He is mentioned as a *mahārāja* and seems to have been a feudatory king of Skandagupta. Bhīma was the name of one of the five Pāṇḍavas (the second son of Pāṇḍu) mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Literally the name may mean 'one who protects by awfulness'. Bhīma is also the name of Rudra-Śiva, one of the eight forms of Śiva.[43] Thus it may be a name based on god Śiva.

4. *Hastivarmman* (No. 1, L. 2) :

A king of Veṅgī in the time of Samudragupta and included in the list of the Dakṣiṇāpatha kings defeated by the latter. He is identical with the king of the Sālaṅkāyana dynasty whose record has been found at Peddavegi.[44]

It is a name based on animal. The name *Hastin* (elephant) denotes fatness and valour.

5. *Viśvavarmman* (No. 17, L. 14) :

A ruler (*Goptṛ*) in the time of Kumāragupta I. Literally the name may mean 'a protector of the world'. There is a second possibility that it is a name based on the deity Viṣṇu, because Viśva meaning all-pervading or all-containing, omnipresent,[45] is also the name of Viṣṇu-kṛṣṇa.

One-word names

1. *Acyuta* (No. 1, L. 13) :

It is the same as Acyutanandin mentioned in line 21.[46] It is the abbreviated form of the full name Acyutanandin where the latter part is dropped. The abridged form 'Acyuta' leads to the violation of the injunctions of the Dharma-sūtras which forbid giving direct names of gods to human-beings. Acyuta is the name of god Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa.[47]

2. *Chagalaga* (No. 3, L. 2) :

A mahārāja, grandfather of a *mahārāja* whose name in line 2 is illegible and who belonged to the Sanakānīka tribe or family, who was a feudatory of Candragupta II. We find the word *Chagala* literally meaning 'a hegoat'[48] in the Uṇādi-sūtras of Pāṇini where it is the name of a Ṛṣi.[49] It seems to be a non-Āryan word. The words Chagala, Chagalaka or Chagalaga mean the same.[50]

3. *Damana* (No. 1, L. 19) :

A ruler of Eraṇḍapalla who was one of the Dakṣiṇāpatha kings conquered by Samudragupta. We get this name in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas. Literally the word daman means 'taming, subduing, overpowering';[51] hence the name may mean 'one who subdues or overpowers others'.

4. *Dhanañjaya* (No. 1, L. 20) :

A ruler of Kusthalapura and one of the Dakṣiṇāpatha kings defeated by Samudragupta. The name has some connection with the Epic. In the Mahābhārata Dhanañjaya is one of the

epithets of Arjuna

Literally it would mean, 'one who wins a prize or booty or acquires wealth'.

5. *Kubera* (No. 1, L. 20) :

Ruler of Devarāṣṭra mentioned in the list of the kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha who were defeated by Samudragupta. According to Bhandarkar Kubera was perhaps the father of Kubera-nāgā of the Nāga family, who was a queen of Candragupta II.[52] In this case the name of Kubera, the god of wealth, has been given directly which is against the rules prescribed by the Gṛhya-sūtras.[53]

6. *Mādhava* (No. 19, L. 3) :

Father of Goparāja, the feudatory of Bhānugupta; born of Lakṣa lineage. It is the name of Lord Kṛṣṇa given to this king which violates the rules of Dharmasūtras.

7. *Matila* (No. 1, L. 21) :

One of the kings of Āryyāvartta defeated by Samudragupta. According to Pāṇini,[54] a polysyllabic name was sometime shortened in order to express affection. Thus in the case of names ending in 'ila' we find Devila being derived from Devadatta; Yajñila and Yajñadatta; Makhila from Makhadeva; Agila from Agnidatta ; Satila from Svātidatta; Nāgila from Nāgadatta, and Yasila, Yakhila from Yakṣadatta.[55] Similarly Matila can be formed from Matideva or Matidatta.

NAMES OF MINISTERS

1. *Āmrakārddava* (No. 5, L. 5) :

Hailing from Sukuli-deśa who loyally served Candragupta II by fighting and winning many battles for him.

The first part of the name is based on the mango tree. The second part is *kārddava*.[56] It is the name of some Nāgas or serpent-demons thought to be inhabitants of the lower regions.[57] Kadru is the name of the mother of serpents. Kādrava by metathesis becomes Kārddava which literally means 'born of Kadru'. In south, among aboriginal people and lower castes, the practice of matriarchal names is well known. The whole term 'Āmrakārddava' is inexplicable as one word. Āmra seems to be his personal name and Kārddava his family title.

2. *Hariṣeṇa* (No. 1, L. 32) :
He is given several titles indicating offices held of a *Khādyaṭapākika*,[58] a *Sāndhivigrahika*, a *Kumārāmātya* and a *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* of Samudragupta. He is also the composer of this inscription which has been termed as a *kāvya*.[59]

Hari is Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa and *sena* is to be obtained from Sanskrit senā. The name can be explained in two ways. That Hari is his personal name and ṣeṇa or sena his surname. We may also explain it is, 'one with Hari as his army'. The Mahābhārata informs us that there was big army on the side of the Kauarvas and there was only Hari, i.e., Lord Kṛṣṇa on the side of the Pāṇḍavas. The Pāṇḍavas could get Hari on their side by foregoing the Yādava army to the Kauravas.

3. *Vīrasena* (No. 6, L.4) :
Hailing from Pāṭaliputra he was Candragupta II's minister for peace and war by hereditary right[60] and accompanied the king on his far-reaching military expeditions. The first part is Vīra which means 'brave' and the second is '*sena*', the whole literally meaning 'one with a brave army'. Pāṇini refers to *Senānta* names in his Aṣṭādhyāyī.[61] We find many such names as Vārisena, Ṛṣṭiṣeṇa, Bhīmasena and Ugrasena.[62] U.N. Roy conjectures the possibility of the composition of the '*Praśasti*' inscribed on the Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription by Śāba alias Vīrasena who was an accomplished poet and a favourite minister of Candragupta II, Vikramāditya.[63] It is possible that he outlived his patron and when during a *Dharmayātrā* he revisited the spot where the lofty banner had been raised as a mark of homage to Lord Viṣṇu after the victory over the Vāhlikas, was moved to compose and inscribe this *Praśasti* on the Meharauli Pillar.[64]

Names of Commanders

1. *Dattabhaṭa* (No. 32, L.7) :
A son of Vāyurakṣita, himself also a general of the armies of king Prabhākara (appointed by him). We find here the word 'datta' used as the first part of the name. The second part is '*bhaṭa*' which means a 'warrior'.

2. *Dhruvabhūti* (No. I, L. 32) :
He was a mahādaṇḍanāyaka and is mentioned in the

Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. The first part is *dhruva* which means 'firm' or definite and the second part is *bhūti* which means 'wealth or prosperity', a surname generally used for Vaiśyas. Literally it would mean 'whose prosperity is enduring'.

3. *Gopasvāmin* (No. 40, L. 11; No. 21, L. 15) :
In No. 40, he has been mentioned as *akṣapāṭalādhikṛta*, *mahāpīlupati* and *mahābalādhikṛta*. The Gayā spurious copper plate inscription of Samudragupta (No. 21) was written by the order of Dyūta-gopasvāmin, *akṣapaṭalādhikṛta* of another village. Literally Gopasvāmin means 'Lord of herdsmen' which is a popular expression for Lord Kṛṣṇa.

4. *Hariṣeṇa* (No. 1, L. 32) :
He has been mentioned as a mahādaṇḍanāyaka in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. His name has already been explained among the names of ministers.

5. *Tilabhaṭṭaka*[65] (No. 1, L. 33) :
He was a mahādaṇḍanāyaka and is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta.

We find personal names with their first part as '*Tilaka*' but never as '*Tila*'.[66] In the present case also the first part of the name was probably '*Tilaka*' and the second was *bhaṭṭa*. Later on by the process of metathesis the name may have become 'Tilabhaṭṭaka'.

Tilaka is a mark on the forehead (made with coloured earths, sandal-wood, or unguents, either as an ornament of a sectarial distinction),[67] the second part '*bhaṭṭa*' is a surname.

6. *Vāyurakṣita*[68] (No. 32, L. 5) :
He was a commander of the army (*senāpati*). The first part of the name is Vāyu standing for 'the god of the wind',[69] and the second part is '*rakṣita*' which means 'protected'. The full name literally means 'protected by the god of the wind'.

Names of Governors

1. *Brahmadatta* (No. 33, L. 2) :
An *Uparika-mahārāja* ruling over the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti in the reign of Budhagupta. The name would literally mean, 'given by (the grace of) God'.

2. *Cakrapālita* (No. 14, L. 11, L. 27) :

Governor of Surāṣṭra in the reign of Skandagupta who restored the break in the Sudarśana lake and renewed the embankment.

It has been shown by Charpentier that he was an Iranian.[70] We find many Iranians adopting names after Hindu gods.[71] Cakrapālita means 'one protected by the disc (bearer)', i.e., a devotee of Viṣṇu, a name adopted after this person became a *Vaiṣṇava* (Hindu).[72]

3. *Cirātadatta* (No. 34, L. 2, L. 3) :

The first part Cirāta can be a Prakritization of the word Kirāta which is the name of Śiva (the god Śiva in the form of a wild mountaineer or Kirāta as opposed to Arjuna).[73] Hence the complete expression would literally mean 'begotton by the grace of Kirāta'.

4. *Jayadatta* (No. 33, L. 3) :

It is the name of an *Uparika-mahārāja* in the reign of Budhagupta. Jaya is the name of Arjuna (son of Pāṇḍu).[74] The second part '*datta*' is a surname. It may thus be a name based on the Epic. It may also be noted that Jayadatta was the name of a Bodhisattva.[75]

5. *Vijayasena* (No. 52, L. 16) :

He was a *dūtaka*, *mahāpratihāra*, a *mahāpīlupati*, an *uparika* of five *adhikaraṇas*, an *uparika* over a *pati*, an *uparika* over a *purapāla*, a *mahārāja* and *Śrī mahāsāmanta* during the reign of Vainyagupta. The name can literally mean 'one whose army always wins'.

Names of Kumārāmātyas[76]

1. *Kulavṛddhi* (No. 44, L. 1) :

One of the *Kumārāmātyas* in the time of Kumāragupta I. This is a very good name which literally means 'one who increases the family'. A son is always considered to continue the genealogical sequence and hence to increase the family.

2. *Pṛthivīṣeṇa*[77] (No. 39, L. 7) :

The son of Śikharasvāmin, the minister, and the *kumārāmātya mahābalādhikṛta* of Candragupta II. He himself was the minister, the *kumārāmātya* and *mahābalādhikṛta* of Kumāragupta I. His grandfather was Viṣṇupālitabhaṭṭa,[78] the son of Kuramāravyabhaṭṭa[79] of the *gotras Aśva* and *Vājin* and who was a teacher of Chandoga (Veda).

3. *Revajjasvāmin* (No. 52, L. 17) :
A *kumārāmātya* in the time of Vainyagupta. The first part is Revajja and the second svāmin. Revajja can be derived from *revat* which means rich or prosperous.[80] Thus the name would literally mean 'master of the rich'.

4. *Śikharasvāmin* (No. 39, L. 6) :
He was the minister and the *kumārāmātya* of *mahārājādhirāja*, illustrious Candragupta II and was the son of Viṣṇupālitabhaṭṭa, the son of Kuramāravyabhaṭṭa, a teacher of the Chandoga (Veda).

Śikhara means a peak or summit of a mountain, hence the whole may literally mean 'one who is a master of *śikhara*'. The name seems to represent Lord Śiva due to Śiva's connection with the Himalayas.

5. *Vetravarman* (No. 34, L. 4; No. 35, LL. 3-4) :
A *kumārāmātya* in the time of Kumāragupta I. Vetra means the rod or mace of an officer, or staff of a door-keeper.[81] So the whole will literally mean 'one who protects by means of a *vetra*'.

Names of Āyuktakas (Commissioners or District collectors)

1 *Acyutadāsa* (No. 43. L. 1) :
Acyuta is the name of Lord Viṣṇu. So the present name would literally mean 'a *dāsa* or servant of Viṣṇu'. According to the smṛtis the surname *dāsa* should be used for śūdras.[82]

2. *Bhāmaha* (No. 52, L. 17) :
He has been mentioned as a *bhogika* in this inscription. It was also the name of the author of the Alaṁkāra-śāstra and of the Prākrita-manoramā (commentary on the Prākrita-prakāśa)[83] Literally the name may mean 'one possessing great light, splendour or brightness'.

3. *Candragupta* (No. 40, L. 12) :
He is mentioned as a *kumāra*.[84] This name has already been explained among the names of the Gupta kings.

4. *Devabhaṭṭāraka* (No. 37, L. 3) :
He is mentioned to have ruled over the viṣaya of Koṭivarṣa. The name is based on the name of Lord Sun. Devabhaṭṭāraka seems to be a metathesis of Bhaṭṭārakadeva which means 'The god Bhaṭṭāraka'.

5. *Śa(ga)ṇḍaka* (No. 36, L. 3) :
D.C. Sircar takes the reading to be Gaṇḍaka which seems to be correct.[85] One scholar[86] equates Śaṇḍaka with Saṇḍaka which means a 'bull' and says that the word Gaṇḍaka yields no sensible meaning. But Gaṇḍaka has been accepted as the most probable reading by scholars.[87] Gaṇḍaka is the name of a river in the northern part of India.[88] So the name Gaṇḍaka based on the river Gaṇḍakī can be given to a person just as the name Gaṅgā based on the river Ganges is given to a person. Gaṇḍaka is also the name of the Videhas living on the river Gaṇḍakī[89] and also refers to a rhinoceros.[90] It is possible that the present name, like *Vyāghra* discussed elsewhere is based on the name of an animal.

6. *Śarvvanāga* (No. 16, LL. 4-5) :
He was a *viṣayapati* in the reign of Skandagupta. Śarvva is the name of Lord Śiva[91] and *nāga* may be a surname indicating that the person belonged to the Nāga tribe.

7. *Svayambhu(ū)deva* (No. 37, L. 4) :
He has been mentioned as a Viṣayapati in the Damodarpur copper plate inscription of Bhānugupta. Literally the name would mean 'self-existent god', i.e., Brahmā. As mentioned earlier the practice of giving names of gods to human-beings directly is against the tradition of the Dharmasūtras.

REFERENCES

1. Cf. Mānava Gṛhyasūtra, I.18.1-2; यशस्यं नामधेयं देवताश्रयं नक्षत्राश्रयं देवतायाश्च प्रत्यक्षं प्रतिषिद्धम् ।
2. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg.** p. 141.
3. Ibid.
4. Cf.No. 1, L. 13 : बाहु-वीर्य्य-रभसादेकेन येन क्षणादुन्मूल्याच्युत-नागसेन-गणपत्या-दीन्नृपान्संगरे ।
5. No. 1, L. 21 : रुद्रदेव-मतिल-नागदत्त-चन्द्रवर्म्म-गणपतिनाग-नागसेनाच्युतनन्दि-बल-वर्म्माद्यनेकार्य्यावर्त्त राज-प्रसभोद्धरणोद्वृतप्रभावमहत: । Cf. see note 15.
6. **Fz.** p. 883, col. 1
7. U.N. Roy, **Lz.** pp. 69-73.
8. **Fz.** p. 172, col. 2, M.N. Sircar, 'Śaivism', vide **Ky.** pp. 316-35.
9. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 408 :
गुप्तान्वयारिद्रुम-धूमकेतुः प्रभाकरो भूमिपतिर्य्यमेनम् ।
स्वेषाम्बलानां बलदेव-वीर्य्यं गुणानुरागादधिपं चकार ॥१०॥ ;

We know that the Hūṇas were thereatening to invade the western portion of the Gupta Empire about this time.

10. To which Naravarman of the Mandasor inscription of M.E. 461, Viśvavarman of the Gaṅgdhar inscription of M.E. 480 and Bandhuvarman of the Mandasor inscription of M.E. 493 belonged. See **GJ.** XII, p. 315 ff, **(Dx)**[1] No. 17 and 18.

11. GJ. Vol. 27, pp. 14-15.

12. **Fz.** p. 9, col. 2.

13. Ibid., p. 527, col. 1-2.

14. Ibid., col. 2.

15. Cf. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg.** pp. 139-40; Acyutanandin seems to be the same as Acyuta mentioned in L. 13 of the inscription. Some scholars opine that Acyuta, Nāgasena and others attacked the newly anointed king but were uprooted by Samudragupta (PJ., Suppl., pp. 24, 27, 37). We cannot give any definite reason for the repetition of these names but it may be said that Samudragupta exterminated them again in his Āryyāvartta campaign.

16. Cf. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg.** p. 36.

'The Nāgās, of Padmāvatī give a prominent position to Śiva's emblem *Triśūla* and vehicle *Nandin*, on their coins'.

Ibid., pp. 39-40 : A king named Acyuta had risen to power in Ahicchatra (Rohilkhand) by the middle of 4th century A.D. From his coinage it is clear that he was a Nāga ruler; most probably a scion of a collateral branch of Mathurā family. He offered stubborn resistance to Samudragupta but it proved of no avail. His kingdom was incorporated in the Gupta empire.

17. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 421.

18. **Fz.** p. 509, col. 1.

19. Ibid., col. 3, Hari is name of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa (in this sense thought by some to be derived from √'hṛ' to take away or remove evil or sin).

20. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 421.

21. **Fz.** p. 807, col. 1.

22. D.B. Diskalkar, **Iz.** vol. I, part II, p. 33; Cf. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg.** p. 145.

23. H.D. Sankalia, **Pz.** p. 105.

"His name yields no sensible meaning, and seems to be "an Indianization of an Iranian name Farna-dāta which represents an old Iranian name Xvarenodāta, meaning 'created by Majesty'; a name of the same type as Ahura-dāta."

24. **Fz.** p. 606, col. 2; Cf. Lith. sparne; H. Germ. varn, farn; Angl Sax. fearn, Eng. fern; Skt. parṇa (leaf); **Xz.** p. 437.

25. See the appendix III.

26. Ibid.

27. **Fz.** p. 355, col. 2.

28. No. 13, L. 11 : समुदित-ब(ल)-कोशा (न्पुष्यमित्रांश्च) (जि) त्वा...

29. **HJ.** Vol. 11, p. 362 f.n.

30. "प्रियनामामात्यो भवत्येतस्य"

31. **(Dx)**[1]. p. 32.

32. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 281, f. n. 8.

33. Cf. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg.** pp. 165-66.

34. R.K. Mookerjee, **Ag.** pp. 44-45.

35. A.C. Woolner, 'Prakrit and non-Āryan strata in the vocabulary of Sanskrit', vide **Kz.** p. 70.

36. **Fz.** p. 775, col. 2.

37. Ibid., p. 566, col. 1.

38. Ibid., p. 1057, col. 2 :अभिधान-चिन्तामणिकोश, श्लो॰ 1286 : शरभः कुञ्जरारातिरुत्पादकोऽष्टपादपि ।

39. **JJ.** Vol. I, p. 251; R.C. Majumdar, **Pg.** p. 146.

40. **MJ.** I, p. 228.

41. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg.** p. 174.

42. No. 17, LL. 14-15 : तस्यात्मजः स्थैर्य्य-नयोपपन्नो बन्धुप्रियो बन्धुरिव प्रजानां ।
बंध्वर्त्तिहर्त्ता नृप-बन्धुवर्म्मा द्वि (ड्) दृप्त-पक्ष-क्षपणैकदक्षः ॥26॥

43. **Fz.** p. 758, col. 1.

44. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg.** p. 145.

45. **Fz.** p. 992,col.2.

46. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg.** p. 139.

47. Supra, See note 15.

48. अभिधानचिन्तामणिकोश, श्लो॰ 1275 : अजः स्यात् छगल : छागश्छगो ।

49. S.C. Vasu, **Og.** Vol. I. p. 645.
Cf. **Jz.** p. 63.

50. **Fz.** p. 404, col. 1.

51. Ibid., p. 469, col. 3.

52. D.B. Diskalkar, **Iz.** Vol. I, part II, p. 34.

53. Supra, See f.n.1.

54. Pāṇini, V.3.78; V.3.79; V 3.80.

55. V.S. Agrawala, **Jy.** p. 191.

56. **O.** pp. 371-72, Pāṇini 6/4/147.

57. **Fz.** p. 270, col. 2.

58. As told by D.C. Sircar, a recent suggestion is that it is a mistake for *Khādyakūṭapākika*.

59. No. I, LL. 31-32.

60. अन्वय-प्राप्त-साचिव्य...।

61. IV.1.152;
Also see VIII. 3.99.

62. V.S. Agrawala, **Jy.** p. 186.

63. U.N. Roy, **Lz.** p. 27.

64. Ibid., pp.25-26.

65. Infra, see 'Tilabhaṭṭaka' among the names of writers and engravers.

66. **Fz.** p. 448, col. 12.

67. Ibid., col. 2.

68. No. 32, L. 5 : सेनापतिस्तस्य बभूव नाम्ना वाय्वादिना रक्षित-पश्चिमेन ।

69. **Fz.** 942, col. 2.

70. See J. Charpentier, **UJ.** 1928, pp. 904-5.

71. Moti Chandra, (XJ)[1]. Vikrama Saṁvat, 2000, p. 184.

72. H.D. Sankalia, **Pz.** p. 105.

73. **Fz.** p. 283, col. 3 : Bhāravi wrote a Mahākāvya named Kirātārjunīyam based on this theme;

D.C. Sircar, **JJ.** XIX, p. 13. Cirātadatta—Sanskrit kīrātadatta

74. Mahābhārata, IV.5. 35.

75. **Fz.** pp. 412-13.

76. *Kumārāmātya* is a technical official title and literally means 'counsellor of the prince';

Cf. Majumdar, **Pg.** pp. 281-82.

77. No. 44, L. 1 :पृथिवीषेणो महाराजाधिराज-श्रीकुमारगुप्तस्य मन्त्री कुमारामात्यो (ऽ) नन्तरं च महाबलाधिकृत: ।

78. Explained in Chapter V, see names ending in **Bhaṭṭa.**

79. Ibid.

80. **Fz.** 888, col. 1.

81. Ibid., p. 1015. col. 1.

82. H.D. Sankalia, **Pz.** p. 103.

83. **Fz.** p. 753, col. 1.

84. No. 40, L. 12 : कुमार-श्री-चन्द्रगुप्त: ।

85. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 337, note 1.

86. **GJ.** XV, p. 138.

87. R.B. Pandey, **Wx.** p. 107, note 4.

88. **Fz.** p, 344, col. 2.

89. Ibid.

90. Ibid., अभिधानचिन्तामणिकोश, श्लो० 1287 : गण्डक-गेंडा ।

91. **Fz.** p. 1057, col. 1.

Names of Local Officers

NAMES OF ŚREṢṬHINS (Bankers)

1. *Ccha(cha)ndaka* (No. 46, L. 12) :
He is mentioned as the youngest son of a certain Hari-śreṣṭhin. Chandaka means 'charming'. It was the name of Gautama Buddha's charioteer.[1]

2. *Dhṛtipāla* (No. 34, L. 5; No. 35, L. 4) :
It is the name of a *nagara-śreṣṭhin* (the guild-president of the town). The first part of the name is based on the virtue *'Dhṛti'* (which mean firmness, resolution or command).[2] The second part is *Pāla* which means a guard, protector or keeper.[3] The complete expression means 'an observer of firmness'.

3. *Hari-śreṣṭhin* (No. 46, L. 11) :
He was the son of Kaivarttiśreṣṭhin. While he and his father are called *śreṣṭhins*, none of his sons is called *śreṣṭhin* or banker by profession. Hari is the name of god Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa.

4. *Kaivartti-śreṣṭhin* (No. 46, L. 11) :
Kaivarta is a fisherman (born of prostitute by kṣatriya or of an *Ayogava* female by a Niṣāda father).[4] We may infer that his mother was from the family of a fisherman and father belonged to a *Śreṣṭhin* class.

5. *Ribhupāla* (No. 36, LL. 3-4; L. 5, L. 14; No. 37, L. 4) :
The orthographic change in the first letter is to be noted.[5] Ribhu here may mean property or wealth.[6] The whole may thus mean, 'a protector of property or wealth'. In No. 36 Ribhupāla has been mentioned as a *nagara-śreṣṭhin*. In No. 37 he is also described as *Āryya*.

6. *Śrīdatta* (No. 46, LL. 11-22) :
He was the eldest son of Hari-śreṣṭhin and the grandson of Kaivartti-śreṣṭhin. Śrī is the goddess of wealth and datta means given. The whole expression will mean, 'born by the grace of

the goddess of wealth'.

7. *Vargga, Vargga-grāmika* (No. 46, L. 12, L. 15) :
He was the middle son of Hari-śreṣṭhin. In L. 12 he is mentioned only as Vargga and in L. 15 as Vargga-grāmika. While his father is called a *śreṣṭhin* he was not *śreṣṭhin* or banker by profession. The word *grāmika* affixed to Vargga's name suggests that he was the headman of a village which seems to be no other than Avaḍāra. Vargga literally means 'one who excludes or removes or averts'.[7]

NAMES OF PRATHAMA KULIKAS (Chief Artisans)

1. *Dhṛtimitra* (No. 34, L. 5; No. 35, L. 5) :
It is a name based on virtue, the first part being Dhṛti 'perseverance' and the second part '*mitra*' friend, the whole meaning 'one who is friendly to perseverance', i.e., a man full of perseverance. Names ending in *mitra*[8] are very few in the Vedic literature but seem to have been very popular in the post-Pāṇinian period. Coins[9] as well as the epigraphic records show an abundant use of *mitra*-ending names.[10]

2. *Matidatta* (No. 37, L. 5) :
It is also a name based on virtue, the first part being '*mati*' intellect and the second '*datta*', the whole meaning, 'begotton by virtue of intellect'.

3. *Varadatta* (No. 36, L. 4) :
The first part is Vara meaning boon and the second is *datta*, the whole meaning 'begotton by a boon'. Names ending in datta were very popular in the time of Patañjali and figure much in ancient Pali works.[11] It is a vaiśya name-ending.

NAMES OF KULIKAS (Artisans)

We get only one name of a *kulika* which occurs four times in an inscription.

Bhīma (No. 43, LL. 3; 17, 19, 25) :
It is a name based on the Epic tradition. Bhīma was the name of one of the five Pāṇḍavas in the Mahābhārata and literally means 'dreadful'.

NAMES OF PRATHAMA KĀYASTHAS (Chief Scribes)

1. *Śāmbapāla* (No. 34, LL. 5-6; No. 35, L. 5) :

The first part of the name Śāmba is to be derived from *Sāmba* which literally means accompanied by Ambā (Durgā) and is the name of Lord Śiva.[12] It has been the name of a son of Kṛṣṇa and Jāmbavatī as well as of several authors and teachers.[13] *Pāla* is a name-ending suffix having the least significance in the present case. Perhaps it has been added only to honour the Gṛhyasūtra injunction of not giving names of deities directly to human-beings.[14]

2. *Skandapāla* (No. 37, L. 5) :
Skanda is the name of Kārttikeya. *Pāla* here is a mere name-ending suffix which has the same significance as in the case of Śāmbapāla discussed above.

3. *Viprapāla* (No. 36, L. 4) :
The first part is *vipra* which means a brāhmaṇa and the second part is '*pāla*' which means 'protector', the whole thus meaning 'one who protects the brāhmaṇas'. We do not get *pāla* name-ending in the Pāṇinian period. It is a kṣatriya name-ending.

NAMES OF KĀYASTHAS (Scribes)

1. *Devadatta* (No. 43, L. 3) :
The first part of the name is *deva* and the second is *datta*, the whole meaning 'given by the gods'. This name was very popular in the time of Patañjali.[15]

2. *Kṛṣṇadāsa* (No. 43, LL. 3-4) :
The first part is based on the name of Lord Kṛṣṇa and the second part is *dāsa* which means a servant, the whole thus meaning 'one who is a servant of Lord Kṛṣṇa'.

3. *Lakṣmaṇa* (No. 43, L. 3) :
It is a name based on the Epic tradition. Lakṣmaṇa was the younger brother of Rāma and his name literally means 'endowed with auspicious signs or marks, lucky, fortunate'.[16]

4. *Naradatta* (No. 52, L. 18) :
The first part is Nara which here means the primeval man or eternal spirit pervading the universe, i.e., *Puruṣa* (always associated with Nārāyaṇa 'son of the primeval man'). Both Nara and Nārāyaṇa are considered as gods or sages and accordingly called *devau*, *ṛṣī*, *tapasau*.[17] The second part is *datta*, the whole meaning 'given by the eternal spirit pervading the universe'. He seems to have been a scribe belonging to the office of the

minister for peace and war.[18]

5. *Prabhucandra* (No. 43, L. 3, L. 25) :
The first part is *Prabhu* which is one of the names of Lord Śiva in the Mahābhārata.[19] The second is *candra*, the whole meaning 'a moon, (on the forehead) of Śiva.[20]

6. *Rudradāsa* (No. 43, L. 3, L. 25) :
The first part is Rudra which is another name of Lord Śiva, and the second is *dāsa* meaning 'a slave or servant'; the whole thus means 'one who is a servant of Lord Śiva'.

7. *(Vinayada)tta* (No. 43, L. 3) :
The first part is *Vinaya* and the second is *datta*. It is a name based on virtue. It may literally mean, 'born by virtue of modest speech or prayer'.

NAMES OF THE PRATHAMA PUSTAPĀLAS
(Chief Record-keepers)

1. *Bhaṭanandin* (No. 37, L. 11) :
The first part is *Bhaṭa* and the second is *nandin*. Bhaṭa here is the name of a serpent-demon.[21] The whole means 'one who is an attendant of Bhaṭa'. The other meaning of Bhaṭa is scholar which is not applicable here.

2. *Divākaranandin* (No. 28, L, 10) :
The first part is '*Divākara*' (day-maker), which is another name of god Sun.[22] *Nandin* here is a name-ending suffix literally meaning 'the happy one' and is the name of Viṣṇu, Śiva and an attendant of Śiva. This name-ending was not known in the time of Pāṇini. According to Sankalia names directly after deities were probably after the family-god,[23] which in the present case seems to have been Śiva. It is possible that the first part of the name was connected with same deity and than the name of the family-deity was added as the name-ending surname.

The word nandin is generally used to refer to 'an attendant of Śiva' or the *vāhana* '*nandīn*' bull of Śiva. So the name Divākarnandin may literally mean 'an attendant of god Sun'. The word *Nandin* also means 'gladdening'.[24] So another interpretation can be 'one who pleases or wins over Lord Sun'.

3. *Gopadatta* (No. 37, L. 11) :
The first part is *Gopa* and the second is *datta*. Gopa literally meaning cowherd is a synonym for Lord Kṛṣṇa.[25] So it would

mean 'born by the grace of Lord Kṛṣṇa'. Names ending in datta are common in Buddhist literature.[26]

4. *Nara(nā)ndin* (No. 37, L. 10) :
The first part Nara here means the primeval or eternal spirit pervading the universe,[27] the second part is *nandin*; the whole meaning 'one who is an attendant of Nara'. It may also mean 'one who pleases or wins over Nara' or the one pleasing (other) human-beings.

NAMES OF PUSTAPĀLAS (Record-keepers)

Names ending in Dāsa

1. *Arkkadāsa* (No. 44, L. 10) :
Arkka is the name of god Sun[28] and *dāsa* means servant; the whole meaning 'one who is a servant of god Sun'.

2. *Haridāsa* (No. 28, L.10) :
The first part is Hari which means 'god'. It is a name given to many gods,[29] but generally it is used for Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa. The second part is *dāsa*. The whole literally means 'one who is an attendant of Hari'.

3. *Patradāsa* (No. 36, L. 6, L. 8) :
Patra means a letter or documents, and *dāsa* means 'a servant'. Thus the whole may literally mean, 'one who is a servant to letters or documents' which is a very befitting name for a record-keeper.

4. *Rāmadāsa* (No. 28, L. 10) :
The first part is Rāma which refers to Lord Rāma of the Epic Rāmāyaṇa and the second is *dāsa*, the whole meaning 'a servant of Lord Rāma'.

Names ending in Datta

1. *Durgādatta* (No. 44, L. 10) :
Durgā is the name of a goddess who is worshipped in navarātras, *datta* means 'given', the whole meaning 'given by goddess Durgā'.

2. *Riśidatta*[30] (No. 34, L. 10) : *Risidatta*[31] (No. 35, L. 7) :
We get this word in above two forms but the first form is more accurate though not fully correct due to orthographic differences. The correct form should be 'Ṛṣidatta'. The first part '*Ṛṣi*' means 'a sage' and '*datta*' means given, the whole

meaning 'given by (the grace of) a sage'.

3. *Vibhudatta* (No. 34, L. 10; No. 35, L. 7) :
'Vibhu' means all-pervading, and is applied to the names of several important gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, the Sun, Kubera and Indra[32] and '*datta*' means 'given'. The whole thus literally means 'given by the all-pervading, i.e., God'.

4. *Viṣṇudatta* (No. 36, L. 9) :
The first part is Viṣṇu and the second *datta*,the whole thus literally meaning, 'given by god Viṣṇu'.

Names ending in Nandin :

1. *Jayanandin* (No. 34, L. 10; No. 35, L. 7) :
Jaya is the name of Indra,[33] and *nandin* means 'an attendant', the whole meaning 'one who is an attendant of Lord Indra' or by the other meaning explained elsewhere,[34] it may mean 'one who pleases or wins over Indra'.

2. *Śaśinandin* (No. 28, L. 10) :
The first part is *Śaśi* meaning moon and the second is *nandin*, the whole literally meaning 'one who is an attendant of the god Moon' or the one who pleases or wins over god Moon.

3. *Siṁhanandin* (No. 43, L. 4; L. 17) :
The first part *Siṁha* means, lion, may indicate the lion of goddess Durgā. The second part is *nandin*, the whole thus meaning 'an attendant of Siṁha' or the one who pleases or wins over 'Siṁha'. It may be noted that in Hindu religion the *vāhana* of a god is equally important and and is an object of worship.

4. *Sthānunandin* (No. 36, L. 10) :
The Sanskrit form of the first part Sthānu is *sthāṇu*. It is the name of Lord Śiva (who is supposed to remain as motionless as the trunk of a tree during his austerities).[35] Nandin means 'an attendant'. The whole thus literally means 'one who is an attendant of Lord Śiva[36] or the one who pleases or wins over Lord Śiva.

5. *Vijayanandin* (No. 36, L. 9) :
Vijaya is the name of god yama,[37] according to the lexicographical works, of a son of Jayanta (son of Indra), of a son of vasu-deva; of a son of Kṛṣṇa and of an attendant of Viṣṇu, and nandin means 'an attendant', or the one who pleases or

wins over lord Yama. This name has been very frequently used in ancient literature.[38] We are not sure to what god the name connotes the meaning.

Miscellaneous

1. *Dhṛtiviṣṇu* (No. 28, L. 10) :
The first part is Dhṛti which means resolution or satisfaction. It is a name based on virtue. The second part Viṣṇu gives no meaning to the first part; it has only been added probably as the family deity.[39]

2, *Virocana* (No. 28, L. 10) :
It is the name of the god Sun, literally meaning 'illuminating'.[40] It is thus a case of the name of a god directly given to a man which is against the rules prescribed by the Smṛtis.

3. *Yaśodāma* (No. 43, L. 4, L. 17) :
Yaśas means fame and *dāma* means a garland,[41] the whole thus meaning 'a garland of fame'. It was used as a proper name quite frequently in ancient period.[42]

NAMES OF THE VĪTHĪ-MAHATTARAS (Vīthī-elders)

1. *Gaṇḍa* (No. 43, L. 4) :
According to lexicographers Gaṇḍa means 'the chief; best, excellent'[43] and thus can signify a hero. The term is also used for the animal rhinoceros, so it can also be a case of a name based on the name of an animal.

The custom of deriving names from animals was unknown in the Vedic pericd.[44] But in Pāṇini we find such references.[45]

2. *Harisiṁha* (No. 43, L. 5) :
The first part is Hari which is the name alike of Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Moon, Vāyu (the god of the Wind) and according to lexicographers of Śiva.[46] The Second part '*siṁha*' has the purpose only of a surname and does not give any sensible meaning to the first part. In modern practice the word '*siṁha*' is used as a surname of kṣatriya, ṭhākur and rajput castes.

3. *Jyeṣṭhadāma* (No. 43, LL.4-5) :
The first part of the word is *Jyeṣṭha* literally meaning elder. Here it may stand for Jyeṣṭha Liṅga described in the Liṅga Purāṇa.[47] The second part *dāma* means 'a garland'.[48] The whole thus literally means, 'a garland of Jyeṣṭha Liṇga' and testifies

to the popularity of the Jyeṣṭha Liṅga as an object of religious reverence.

4. *Kumāradeva* (No. 43, L. 4) :
Kumāra is the name of Kārttikeya, the son of Lord Śiva and *deva* means 'god', the whole thus meaning 'god Kārttikeya'.

5. *Prajāpati* (No. 43, L. 4) :
Prajāpati means 'lord of creatures'. It was originally applied to the supreme god and later on to Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā.[49] It is also a name against the rules prescribed in the Dharmasūtras, the names of gods being prohibited to be directly given to human-beings.

6. *Rāmaśarman* (No. 43, L. 4) :
The first part of the name is Rāma based on the name of Lord Rāma of the Epic Rāmāyaṇa. The second part is '*śarman*' meaning 'comfort or happiness' and is often used at the end of the names of brāhmaṇas, they being the well-wishers of society.

7. *Svāmicandra* (No. 43, L. 5) :
The first part is *svāmin* meaning lord or master which according to lexicographers is the name of Lord Śiva.[50] The second part is candra, the whole thus literally meaning 'a Moon on (the forehead of) Lord (Śiva)'.

8. *Umayaśas* (No. 43, L. 4) :
The first part is *Uma* and the second *yaśas*. According to lexicographers Uma means a city, town or landing-place,[51] and *yaśas* means fame. The whole thus literally means 'one who has fame in the city'.

NAMES OF MAHATTARAS (Village-headmen)

1. *(De)vakīrtti* (No. 29, L. 4) :
The first part is 'Deva' which means 'god' and the second part is *kīrtti*, meaning 'fame'. The whole expression means 'having fame like that of the gods'.

2. *Devaśarmman* (No. 29, L. 5) :
The first part of the word 'Deva' means 'god' and the second part '*śarmman*' is a name-ending added to the name of brāhmaṇas as prescribed by the Dharmaśāstras.

3. *Gopāla* (No. 29, L. 5) :
Literally meaning one who tends or protects cows, is a synonym

for Lord Kṛṣṇa. In this case also the name is against the rules prescribed by the Dharmaśāstras.

4. *Goṣṭhaka* (No. 29, L. 4) :

It is an abbreviated name with the addition of suffix 'ka'. Literally it means 'belonging to an assembly or society'.[52]

5. *Kāla* (No. 29, L. 4) :

Kāla means time and as destroying all things, signifies death or time of death (often personified and represented with the attributes of Yama). Kāla personified is also a Devarṣi in Indra's court, and is also the name of a son of Dhruva.[53]

6. *Khāsaka* (No. 29, L. 5) :

It is an abbreviated name with the addition of suffix 'ka' which according to Pāṇini is used to denote :—

(i) Depreciation.[54]

(ii) Endearment.[55]

It is a non-Sanskritic word most probably a local or dialectal feature. Here '*ka*' suffix may have been used in the sense of endearment meaning a "poor khasa". Khaśa is the name of a people and of their country (in the north of India).[56] Khāsaka can be native of that country or a man belonging to that race (considered as a degraded kṣatriya).[57]

7. *Kṣemadatta* (No. 29, L. 4) :

The first part is *kṣema* which means ease, security or prosperity.[58] The second part is '*datta*'. Thus the whole literally means 'given by prosperity'. It may signify that the family became prosperous just before his birth. We find many names based on the word '*kṣema*' in ancient Sanskrit literature.[59]

8. *Piṅgala* (No. 29, L. 4) :

It is a one-word name based on colour and means 'reddish-brown', 'yellow' or 'gold-coloured'.[60]

9. *Rāma* (No. 29, L. 6) :

It is another one-word name. Here the name of Lord Rāma, the Epic hero, has been given directly to a person against the rules of the Smṛtis. We may suggest that in such cases either the second part is dropped or is not given at all by the parents.

10. *Rāmaka* (No. 29 L. 5) :

It is also an abbreviated name possibly from Rāma-datta (Cf. Pāṇini V. 3.82) with the addition of the suffix '*ka*'. In the Agni Purāṇa it is the name of Rāma Rāghava.[61] It is formed from

$\sqrt{}$ram and means delighting, gratifying.[62] According to lexicographers a Rāmaka is a Māgadha who lives as a messenger.[63] But here it is a personal name based on the Epic hero Lord Rāma.

11. *Śivanandin* (No. 44, LL, 3-4) :
The first part is Śiva and the second *nandin*; the whole literally meaning 'an attendant of Lord Śiva'.

12. *Somapāla* (No. 29, L. 6) :
Soma is nectar (the beverage of the gods called *Amṛta*) and *pāla* means 'protector'. Thus the whole literally means 'protector or guardian of Amṛta'. It is the name of several men in the Rājataraṅgiṇī[64] and in plural it is the name of the Gandharvas (as keeping especial guard over Soma).[65]

13. *Śrībhadra* (No. 29, L. 6) :
Śrī is the name of the goddess of wealth, the wife of Viṣṇu and *bhadra* means 'blessed'. Thus the whole literally means 'blessed by the goddess of wealth'.

14. *Śuṅkaka* (No. 29, L. 4) :
It is also an abbreviated name with the addition of suffix '*ka*'. The word should have been Śaṅkuka instead of Śuṅkaka. The present form may be due to the mistake of the engraver. The word Śuṅkaka is meaningless. Śaṅku is the name of Lord Śiva. We have many names based on the word Śaṅku in literature. Śaṅkuka was the name of a poet (author of the Bhuvanābhyudaya and son of Mayūra),[66] and also of a writer on rhetoric.[67]

15. *Varggapāla* (No. 29, L. 4) :
The first part is *Vargga* which means 'a separate division, group, company, family, party', literally meaning 'one who excludes or removes or averts'.[68] The second part is *pāla* meaning protector, thus the whole means 'protector of the division, group or party'.

16 *Viṣṇubhadra* (No. 29, L. 5) :
The first part is Viṣṇu and the second '*bhadra*', the whole literally meaning 'blessed by (god) Viṣṇu'.

17..........*Viṣṇu* (No. 29, L. 5) :
The first part is lost and the second part is *viṣṇu*. Viṣṇu was probably the family-god of this person.

Names of writers and engravers

1. *Dhruvaśarman* (No. 10, L. 9, L. 13) :
The lofty pillar (Inscription No. 10), 'firm and excellent' was caused to be made by Dhruvaśarman.

The first part of the name is '*Dhruva*' the Polar star. Pāṇini deals at length with names derived from stars.[69] The second part of the name is '*śarman*', which is a common surname for a brāhmaṇa.

2. *Gopasvāmin* (No. 21, L. 15) :
The Gayā spurious copper plate inscription of Samudragupta was written by the order of Dyūta Gopasvāmin, the *Akṣapaṭalādhikṛta* of another village.[70] His name has already been explained among the names of Commanders

3. *Hariṣeṇa*[71] (No. 1, L. 32) :
The draft of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta which is termed as a 'kāvya' was composed by Hariṣeṇa.[72]

4. *Ravila* (No. 32, L. 15) :
Ravila has been mentioned as the writer of the draft of the Mandasor Stone Inscription of Mālava Saṁvat 524 (A.D. 467).[73] It is a name ending in *ila*.[74] It seems to be an abbreviated form of Ravidatta just as Devila of Devadatta.[75] Thus it is a name based on the deity Sun and originally signified one given by the Sun.

5. *Śrībhadra* (No. 29, L. 17) :
He engraved the Dhanaidaha Copper Plate Inscription of Kumāragupta I. Śrībhadra is the name of a serpent-demon in the Buddhist literature. *Śrī* is goddess Lakṣmī and *bhadra* means auspicious, happy, beautiful, lovely, good or gracious. Thus literally Śrībhadra means 'one who is (made) happy by goddess Lakṣmī'.

6. *Stha(sta)mbheśvara-dāsa* (No. 29, L. 17) :
He is the writer of the Dhanaidaha Copper Plate Inscription of Kumāragupta I. Stambheśvara is the name of Lord Śiva[76] and *dāsa* means 'a servant or devotee'. So the whole will literally mean 'one who is a devotee of Lord Śiva'.

7. *Tilabhaṭṭaka* (No. 1, L. 33) :
The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta was inscribed by *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* Tilabhaṭṭaka, who is described as

meditating on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka.[77] The name has already been discussed among the names of Commanders.

8. *Vatsabhaṭṭi* (No. 17, L 23) :

The Mandasor Stone Inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman (the Mālava years 493 and 529) was composed by Vatsabhaṭṭi.[78] Vatsa is often used as a term of endearment (=my dear child).[79] Originally it was used for a calf, then for the young of any animal and finally for any offspring or child. The child or the young of any animal being lovely, it became a term of endearment. The second part of the present name is *bhaṭṭi* which is a variation of *bhaṭṭa*. Bhaṭṭi is formed from '*bhartṛ*' meaning 'lord'.[80]

Miscellaneous

1. *Jīvanta* (No. 16, L. 8) :

He was the head of the guild of oilmen of Indrapura. Jīvanta is a one-word name. Literally it means 'long-lived',[81] which shows the wish of the parents for the child to live long. It was the name of a man in the time of Pāṇini.[82]

2. *Māra* (*viṣa*) (No. 55, LL. 2-3) :

He was the father of Dāmasvāminī who raised a pillar at Rājaghāṭ, Vārāṇasī; in memory of her parents. The first part of the name is Māra which is the name of the god of love who in the Buddhist literature is described as the greatest enemy of the Buddha and his religion.[83] The second part of the name is not legible. If it is *viṣa* then the whole can literally mean 'one who is a poison for the god of love', i.e., a man of great self-control whom the arrows of Māra cannot affect.

3. *Saṁghila* (No. 22, LL. 5-6) :

He was a soldier who has been mentioned as an '*Aśvapati*'. Saṁghila is a name ending in '*ila*'.[84] It is an abbreviated form of the full name 'Saṁghadatta'.

In Sāñcī inscriptions we find several names with *ila*-ending e.g., Agila (Agnidatta), Satila (Svātidatta), Nāgila (Nāgadatta), Yakhila (Yakṣadatta), Saṁghila (Saṁghadatta).[85]

4. ....*Viṣṇu* (No. 29, L. 7) :

It is the name of some officer whose name appears to have the ending Viṣṇu who may have been his family-deity. The first part is not legible.

REFERENCES

1. **Fz.** p. 405, col. 1.
2. Ibid., p. 519, col. 2-3.
3. Ibid., p. 622, col. 3.
4. Ibid., p. 311, col. III; cf. infra, ch. IV.
5. It is रिभु instead of ऋभु.
6. **Fz.** p. 226, col. 2.
7. Ibid., p. 923, col. 3.
8. Pāṇini, VI. 2. 165.
9. P.L. Gupta, Coins, p. 39. **R.** pp. 90-91.
10. V.S. Agrawala, **Jy.** p. 185.
11. **JJ.** Vol. XIV, pp. 242-43.
12. **Fz.** p. 1207.
13. Ibid.
14. Mānava Gṛhya, I. 18. 1-2.
15. Mahābhāṣya, Vol. I, p. 38 :

    लोके तावन्मातापितरौ पुत्रस्य जातस्य

    संवृत्तेऽवकाशे नाम कुर्वाते देवदत्तो यज्ञदत्त इति ।
16. **Fz.** p. 892, col. 2.
17. Ibid., pp. 528-29.
18. लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहारि (धि) करण-कायस्थनरदत्तेन ।

    Also see **Hz.** p. 343, note 7. The relevant expression has been translated by Bhattacharya **(JJ.** VI, p. 55, L. 18, see translation) as written by karaṇa-kāyastha Naradatta. But this is incorrect. The intended reading was *adhikaraṇa* which stand for 'office'.
19. **Fz.** p. 684, col. 3.
20. Cf. सिद्धि : साध्ये सतामस्तु प्रसादात्तस्य धूर्जटेः ।

    जाह्नवीफेनलेखेव यन्मूर्ध्नि शशिनः कला ॥

    Nārāyaṇa Paṇḍita, Hitopadeśa, Prastāvikā, p. 1, v. 1.
21. **Fz.** p. 745, col. 1.
22. **Fz.** p. 478, col. 3.
23. H.D. Sankalia, **Pz.** p. 115.
24. **Fz.** p. 527, col. 2.
25. **Fz.** p. 368, col. 1.
26. V.S. Agrawala, **Jy.** p. 187.
27. **Fz.** pp. 528-29.
28. **Fz.** p. 89, col. 1.
29. Ibid., p. 1289, col. 2-3.
30. रिशिदत्त
31. रिसिदत्त
32. **Fz.** p. 978, col. 3.
33. Ibid., p. 412, col. 3.
34. See Divākaranandin.
35. **Fz.** p. 1262, col. 3.

36. Cf., Names ending in Nandin, **GJ**. Vol. II, p. 95.
37. **Fz**. p. 960, col. 1.
38. Ibid.
39. H.D. Sankalia, **Pz**. p. 115.
40. **Fz**. p. 983, col. 2.
41. Ibid., p. 475, col. 1.
42. Ibid., pp. 474-475.
43. Ibid., p. 344, col. 1.
44. V.S. Agrawala, **Jy**. p. 186.
45. Pāṇini, II. 1.56 : उपमितं व्याघ्रादिभिः सामान्यप्रयोगे,
Cf. Pāṇini, V. 3.81. The names of species adopted as personal names, e.g. Vyāghraka, Siṁhaka.
46. **Fz**. p. 1289, col. 3.
47. Ibid., p. 426, col. 3.
48. Ibid., p. 475, col. 1.
49. Ibid., p. 658. col. 2-3.
50. Ibid., p. 1284, col. 1; cf. G. Bühler, **GJ**. Vol. II, p. 95. Names with '*svāmin*' as their first part are Śaivite names.
51. **Fz**. p. 217, col. 1.
52. Ibid., p. 367, col. 2.
53. Ibid., p. 278, col. 1.
54. *Kutsite*, Pāṇini, V. 3.75, e.g. Pūraṇaka, name of a servant.
55. Pāṇini, V. 3.76, etc.
56. **Fz**. p. 338, col. 3.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid., p. 332, col. 3.
59. Ibid., p. 332, col. 3; p. 333, col.1.
60. Ibid., p. 624, col. 3.
61. Ibid., p. 878, col. 2.
62. Pāṇini, VII, 3, 34.
63. **Fz**. p. 878, col. 2.
64. **Bz**. p. 165.
65. **Fz**. p. 1250, col. 2.
66. **Bz**. p. 193.
67. **Fz**. p. 1047, col. 2.
68. Ibid., p. 923, col. 3.
69. Pāṇini, IV. 3.34; 36, 37; VIII. 3.100; **Jy**. pp. 189-90; **JJ**. Vol. XIV, pp. 224; 238-40.
70. No. 21, L. 15 : अन्य ग्रामाक्षपटलाधिकृत-द्यूत-गोपास्वाम्यादेश (लिखितोऽयम्)
71. His name has already been explained among the names of ministers.
72. No. 1, L.L. 31-32 : एतच्च काव्यमेषामेव भट्टारकपादानां दासस्य समीपपरि-
सर्प्पणानुग्रहोन्मीलित-मतेः खाद्यटपाकिकस्य महादण्डनायक-ध्रुवभूतिपुत्रस्य
सान्धिविग्रहिक-कुमारामात्य-महादण्डनायक-हरिषेणस्य सर्व्वभूतहितसुखायास्तु ॥
73. No. 32, L. 15 : रविलस्य कृतिः ।
74. Pāṇini, V. 3.79.

75. V.S. Agrawala, Jy. p. 191.

76. *Stambha* and *Sthāṇu* are just synonyms both meaning pillar and displaying qualities of stiffness, firmness or fixedness. (**Fz.** pp. 1258 and 1262). Sthāṇvīśvara is the name of a Liṅga of Śiva, (**Fz.** pp. 1262-63) and hence Stambheśvara also represents the same.

77. No. 1, L. 33 : अनुष्ठितं च परमभट्टारकपादानुध्यातेन महादण्डनायक-तिलभट्टकेन ।

Fleet, (**Dx**)[1], p. 17 translates it as 'And the accomplishment of the matter has been effected by the Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Tilabhaṭṭaka, who meditates on the feet of the Paramabhaṭṭāraka (i.e., Candragupta II)'. It is all due to the fact that Fleet considered this inscription as posthumous ((Dx)[1], p. 1). The word Paramabhaṭṭāraka here applies to Samudragupta as the pillar was set up during the life-time of the great emperor. See: Majumdar, **Pg**. p. 137.

78. No. 17. L. 23 : पूर्व्वा चेयं प्रयत्नेन रचिता वत्सभट्टिना ।

79. **Fz.** p. 915, col. 3

80. Ibid., p. 745, col. 1, 2.

81. Ibid., p. 423, col. 2.

82. Pāṇini, IV. 1.103 : *Jaivantāyana Jaivanti*, i.e., one who belongs to the family of Jīvanta ; **Jz.** p. 62.

83. **Fz.** p. 811, col. 3.

84. Pāṇini, V. 3.79.

85. V.S. Agrawala, Jy. p. 191.

Names of Householders and Traders

NAMES OF HOUSEHOLDERS

Names ending in Bhadra

1. *Acyutabhadra* (No. 43, L. 11) :
Bhadra is the name of Lord Śiva. Acyuta means 'firm' or 'solid'. Thus Acyutabhadra has the same meaning as that of Sthāṇu Śiva.[1] The name is based on the quality of firmness of Lord Śiva.

2. *Ratibhadra* (No. 43, L. 11) :
Rati is often personified as one of the two wives of Kāmadeva, together with Prīti.[2] Bhadra is the name of Lord Śiva. The name depicts the quality of kindness of Lord Śiva who had put cupid, the husband of Rati, to ashes for disturbing his penance but who at the prayer of Rati made him alive to reside in all men but without a body. Ratibhadra can also literally mean—a man skilful in *rati*,[3] i.e. sexual enjoyment.

Names ending in Bhava

1. *Kumārabhava* (No. 43, L.5) :
Kumāra is another name of Skanda or Kārttikeya[4] and Bhava is the name of Lord Śiva. So it is also a name formed by combining the names of two deities. We find several names with Kumāra as the first word. Cf. Kumārasvāmin, Kumārahārīta, Kumārabhaṭṭa [5]

2. *Rudrabhava* (No. 43, L. 6) :
It will mean born by (the grace of) Śiva.

Names ending in Dāsa

1. *Kuladāsa* (No. 43, L. 10) :

Kula means 'race, family, community'.[6] *Dāsa* means servant. So the whole will literally mean 'a servant of the community or family'. Dharmaśāstras prescribe '*dāsa*' to be used by śūdras at the end of their names but we do not find any strict adherence to this rule by the society. *Dāsa*-ending names show devotion. We have such names as 'Kulabhūṣaṇa' based on the word '*kula*'.

2. *Mātṛdāsa* (No. 7, L. 4) :

Mātṛ means 'mother' or the divine mothers (considered to be 7, 9 or 16 in number).[7] So it will literally mean 'a servant of the divine mothers'.

3. *Nārāyanadāsa*[8] (No. 43, L. 10) :

It is to be taken as 'Nārāyaṇadāsa' literally meaning 'a servant of the god'.

4. *Śarvvadāsa* (No. 43, L. 12) :

Śarvva is another name of Lord Śiva[9]. So the whole will literally mean 'a servant of Lord Śiva'.

Names ending in Datta

1. *Bhavadatta* (No. 43, L. 8) :

Bhava is the name of Lord Śiva and datta means 'given'. The whole literally means 'given by Lord Śiva'. Such names show devotion towards a particular deity.

2. *Jayadatta* (No. 43, L. 11) :

Jaya is the name of an attendant of Viṣṇu,[10] and *datta* means 'given'. The whole will literally mean 'given by Jaya'. It is a name based on the deity Viṣṇu.[11] Jayadatta was the name of a king in the Kathāsaritsāgara, of a minister in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, of the author of the Aśvavaidyaka, of a Bodhisattva and of a son of Indra.[12] We find many personal names with the first part '*Jaya*' in the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[13]

3. *Kṛṣṇadatta* (No. 43, L. 8) :

The first part Kṛṣṇa refers to Lord Kṛṣṇa and the second part *datta* means given, thus the whole means 'given by Lord Kṛṣṇa'.

4. *Siṁhatta*[14] (No. 43, L. 10) :

It should be taken as Siṁhadatta. Siṁhadatta meaning 'lion-given'[15] was the name of an Asura; it has also been the name of a poet.[16]

It is a name based on the Zodiacal sign Leo or its *lagna*.

A child born in such *lagna* may be named as Siṁhadatta.[17]

Names ending in Deva

1. *Bhadradeva* (No. 30, L. 5) :

Bhadra means 'auspicious, gracious, kind' and *deva* means 'god'. So the whole will literally mean 'a gracious god'.

2. *Dhanyadeva* (No. 30, L. 5) :

Dhanya also means 'fortunate, auspicious'.[18] Thus the complete name will literally mean 'an auspicious god'.

3. *Harideva* (No. 30, L. 5) :

Hari is generally applied to Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa (in this sense thought by some to be derived from $\sqrt{}$*hṛ* 'to take away or remove evil or sin).[19] Hence the whole expression will literally mean 'god Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa'.

4. *Nāgadeva* (No. 33, L. 10) :

It will literally mean the serpent-god. In Sanskrit literature we find several authors with this name.[20]

5. *Naradeva* (No. 43, L. 11) :

It would literally mean 'the god of men' i.e. a king'. It has also been the name of an author.[21]

6. *Saṁghadeva* (No. 30, L. 5) :

It would literally mean 'god of the Order (*Buddhist*)'. "To whom the Order (Buddhist) is supreme".

7. *Śrīdeva* (No. 30, L. 5) :

Literally it means 'god of fortune or wealth, i.e. Viṣṇu'.

Names ending in Kuṇḍa

The word '*kuṇḍa*' here yields no meaning when combined with the first part. It has only been used as a surname.

1. *Kāmanakuṇḍa* (No. 43, L. 11) :

It should be taken as Kāmanākuṇḍa. The word *kāmanā* means 'desire'. The second part '*kuṇḍa*' seems to be a family surname. Literally it means a bowl, pitcher, a vessel for coals, or a round hole in the ground (for receiving and preserving water or fire. Cf. Agnikuṇḍa).[22] It is a Dravidian word.[23] We have the names of mohallas ending in 'kuṇḍa', such as Durgākuṇḍa, Agastyakuṇḍa, Lakṣmīkuṇḍa in Vārāṇasī.

As a surname, we find its use for the Nāgara brāhmaṇas.[24] We find many brāhmaṇa surnames popular among the kāyas-

thas of Bengal.[25] 'Kuṇḍa' though originally a brāhmaṇa surname is now a non-brāhmaṇa surname in Bengal. Some of the people possessing the *kuṇḍa* surname are found to be oil-men by profession. Its corrupt form *kuṇḍu* is also found.

2. *Piccakuṇḍa* (No. 43, L. 12) :
Picca means 'the heaven or next birth'.[26] It can also be the corrupt form of '*pitṛ*' which means the fathers, forefathers, ancestors, especially the Pitris or deceased ancestors.[27]

3. *Pravarakuṇḍa* (No. 43, L. 12) :
Pravara means most excellent, chief, eminent, distinguished. We find several instances of the names of kings and places with the first part '*Pravara*'.[28]

4. *Śivakuṇḍa* (No. 43, L. 6) :
The name is based on the deity Śiva.

Names ending in Mitra

1. *Kṛṣṇamitra* (No. 43, L. 6) :
Literally it may mean 'one who loves Kṛṣṇa or is a friend of Kṛṣṇa'. It may signify devotion of *Sakhyabhāva.* It was also the name of the son of Rāmasevaka (grandson of Devidatta, author of the Mañjūṣa Kuñcikā).[29]

2. *Prabhamitra*[30] (No. 43, L. 6) :
Prabha is a Prakritised form of Prabhu meaning God. So the whole will mean 'God's friend'. Such names show devotion to the respective deities.

Names ending in Nāga

1. *Rājyanāga* (No. 43, L. 10) :
Rājya means 'kingly, princely or royal'; it also means 'kingdom, country or realm'.[31] *Nāga* means serpent. So the whole literally means 'a royal nāga'. Nāga is prefixed as well as suffixed to names. It shows a trend towards serpent worship. The use of *Rājya* as the first part of the name is also not without parallels.[32]

2. *Vīranāga* (No. 43, L. 10) :
Vīra means brave, eminent or chief. We can find many names with the first word 'Vīra'. The whole literally means 'a brave or eminent serpent'.

Names ending in Nātha

1 *Bhavanātha* (No. 43, L.10) :

The first part, '*Bhava*' here means 'the world'.[33] The second part '*Nātha*' means 'a protector, owner, lord'[34] and is used both as the first part as well as the second part of the name for example in the names Nātha-malla, Nātha-siṁha, Nāthānanda-muni, Nath'oka etc.[35] Bhavanātha would literally mean here 'the lord of the world', i.e. the god Bhavanātha, was the name of an author.[36] The word *Bhava* is also the synonym of Lord Śiva so it is to be counted as a Śaivite name.

2. *Śrīnātha* (No. 43, L. 7) :

Śrī is the goddess of wealth, wife of Viṣṇu. *Śrīnātha* would literally mean 'the Lord of Śrī', i.e. the deity Viṣṇu.

Names ending in Pālita and Rakṣita

1. *Sarppapālita* (No. 43, L. 9) :

The first part *Sarppa* means a serpent and the second part *pālita* means 'protected'. Thus the whole literally means 'protected by serpents'. The name shows a tendency of the family towards serpent-worship.

2. *Bhavarakṣita* (No. 43, L. 12) :

Bhava is the name of Lord Śiva[37] and *rakṣita* means 'protected'. Thus the whole would literally mean 'protected by Lord Śiva'. The name shows a fondness of the family for the deity Śiva.

Names ending in Śarmman

Śarmman a brāhmaṇa surname is the common ending for the following names. It means a shelter, protection comfort, bliss, etc.[38]

1. *Ahiśarmman* (No. 43, L. 8) :

The whole will literally mean 'a shelter for the serpents'.

2. *Guptaśarmman* (No. 43, L. 7) :

It would literally mean 'a hidden resort'. We can find many names with the first part '*Gupta*', e.g., Guptanātha, Gupteśvara, etc.

3. *Hariśarmman* (No. 43, L. 7) :

Hari means lord Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa. We have also such names as Viṣṇuśarman and Śivaśarman where the first part is

based on the name of a certain deity. The second part *Śarman* gives no meaning here to the first part.

4. *Himaśarmman* (No. 43, L. 9) :
Hima[39] means snow or winter. G. Bühler[40] takes the meaning of *hima* as 'the moon'. So we can say that the name is based on the deity moon. The word Śarman signifies only a surname. It has got no meaning as the part of the name. Or we may say that the name is based on the winter season.[41]

5. *Kaivarttaśarman* (No 43, L. 9) :
The word Kaivartta means 'a fisherman (born of a prostitute by a kṣatriya or of an *Ayogava* female by a Niṣāda father).[42] We also come across a name 'Kaivartti-Śreṣṭhin' in No. 46, L. II. The name Kaivarttaśarmman may signify the profession of the person who was by birth a brāhmaṇa. The word Śarman here yields no meaning when combined with the first part; it is only significant of a brāhmaṇa surname.

6. *Kramaśarmman* (No. 43, L. 8) :
Krama means uninterrupted or regular progress, hereditary descent.[43] It may literally mean 'one who protects the family by causing increase in descent (by his birth)'.

7. *Lakṣmaṇaśarmman* (No. 43, L. 8) :
The name is based on *Lakṣmaṇa*, the younger brother of deity Rāma. The word Śarman here has the significance of a surname only.

8. *Maghaśarmman* (No. 43, L. 6) :
Magha means wealth or power. Literally it would mean 'one who protects the wealth'.

9. *Rūpaśarmman* (No. 43, LL. 7-8) :
Rūpa means 'form, figure, beauty'. Here it may mean beautiful. We have similar names, e.g., Rūpalal, Sunderlal, Rūpachand, etc., in modern times. The first part of the name is based on a virtue, i.e. 'beauty'. It would mean 'one who is beautiful'.

10. *Ruṣṭaśarmman* (No. 33, L. 8) :
Ruṣṭa means angry. The name might have been given due to furious nature of the man. Ruṣṭa was the name of a Muni.[44]

The word 'Śarman' is only significant of the brāhmaṇa surname and yields no sensible meaning when combined with the

first part.

11. *Śukkraśarmman* (No. 43, LL. 8-9) :
Śukra means 'bright, resplendent; light-coloured, white'.[45] The name may be based on colour, day (Friday), or the sage Śukra. Literally it would mean 'one who is white-coloured'.

12. *Suśarmman* (No. 43, L. 7):
'*Su*' is generally prefixed before names. It means 'good or excellent'. The whole will literally signify 'one who is good'.

Names ending in Śiva

1. *Aparaśiva* (No. 43, L. 6) :
Apara means 'having no rival or superior; having nothing beyond or after'.[46] The second part is Śiva. The literal meaning of the name is 'the unrivalled or the great Śiva. We have such names as 'Aparārka';[47] Pūrṇacandra or Pūrṇasiṁha.

2. *Vasuśiva* (No. 43, L. 6) :
Vasu mean 'good or beneficient'[48] and Śiva refers to Lord Śiva. So the whole will mean 'beneficient Śiva'.

Names ending in Svāmin

1. *Alātasvāmin* (No. 43, L. 7) :
The first part '*Alāta*' means fire.[49] We have in the Mahābhārata a name '*Alātākṣī*' 'having fiery eyes', one of the mothers in Skanda's retinue.[50] The second part *svāmin* means 'a master, lord or owner'. It is also used for a spiritual preceptor, learned brāhmaṇa or paṇḍita (used as a title at the end of names, especially of the natives of the Karnataka).[51] Literally the whole means 'the lord of fire'.

2. *Baṭṭasvāmin* (No. 43, L .7) :
The word *Bhaṭṭa* literally means 'lord' (from *bhartṛ*). It is a title of respect but is also affixed to the names of learned brāhmaṇas. Here it has been used as the first part of the name while in other examples we find it used as a second part of the name. Bhaṭṭasvāmin is also the name of the author of a commentary on the Arthaśāstra. The whole name literally means 'the lord of lords'.

3. *Brahmasvāmin* (No. 43, L. 7) :
Brahman means prayer, the sacred word, the text of mantra used as spell.[52] We find several personal names based on this

word in literature.[53] Literally the name would mean 'whose lord is Brahman'.

4. *Jayasvāmin* (No. 43, L.9) :
Jaya is the name of an attendant of Viṣṇu. So it is a Vaiṣṇavite name, meaning 'the lord of Jaya', i.e. Viṣṇu.

5. *Rāmasvāmin* (No. 43, L. 11) :
The name is based on the deity Rāma, meaning 'whose lord is Rāma', i.e. 'Rāmāsya svāmī'.

Names ending in Viṣṇu

1. *Guhaviṣṇu* (No. 43, L. 10; L. 11) :
Viṣṇu seems to have been the family deity of people listed here with Viṣṇu as the second part of their names. Guha is the name of Skanda or Kārttikeya. Viṣṇu signifies Lord Viṣṇu. So it is a name with the combination of two deities Guha and Viṣṇu.

2. *Jayaviṣṇu* (No. 43, L.9) :
The word *Jaya* means victorious. We find many names with the first part *Jaya*, for example, Jayadeva, Jayarāma and Jayadatta. Jayaviṣṇu means 'the victorious Viṣṇu'.

3. *Kīrttiviṣṇu* (No. 43, L.8) :
Kīrtti means fame or glory. The whole will literally mean 'the glorious Viṣṇu'.

4. *Kumāraviṣṇu* (No. 43, L. 5) :
Kumāra is another name of Skanda. Thus this name is also formed by the combination of the names of two deities.

5. *Śarvvaviṣṇu* (No. 43, L. 10) :
Śarva is the name of god Śiva.[54] It is another case of a name formed by combining the names of two deities.

6. *Somaviṣṇu* (No. 43, L.8) :
Soma is also a deity, personified as one of the most important Vedic gods, but in post-Vedic mythology and even in a few (late) hymns of the Ṛgveda and sometimes also in later-Vedic period Soma is identified with the Moon (as the receptacle of the other beverage of gods called *Amṛta*, or as the lord of the plants) and with the god of the Moon as well as with Viṣṇu, Śiva, Yama and Kubera.[55] This name has also been formed by the combination of the names of two deities.

7. *Yaśoviṣṇu* (No. 43, L. 5) :

Yaśas means fame or glory. The whole would literally mean "The god (Viṣṇu) of glory".[56]

One-word names

In such names the second part is generally dropped for the sake of brevity. The names of the gods given directly to persons in some cases are against prescribed rules; but we may suggest that the second part has been dropped.

1. *Acyuta* (No. 43, L. 11) :

Acyuta literally meaning 'not fallen', i.e. permanent, solid, firm, imperishable is the name of Lord Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa.[57]

2. *Bhāskara* (No 44, L. 3; L. 9; L.14; L. 16) :

Literally meaning 'one who produces the rays of light'. Bhāskara is the name of God Sun.[58]

3. *Bhava* (No. 43, L. 11) :

Literally meaning 'coming into existence', Bhava is the name of Lord Śiva. It also means 'the world'.[59].

4. *Bhoyila* (No. 44, L. 3; L. 8; L. 14; L. 15) :

It is a name with the suffix *ila*.[60] The name of Bhavadatta seems to have been changed to Bhoyila as in the case of Agila (Agnidatta), Satila (Svātidatia), Nāgila (Nāgadatta) and Yakhila (Yakṣadatta).[61]

5. *Bonda* (No. 43, L. 10) :

It is a local name in Prakritised form which literally means 'mouth'.[62] We have such names as Mukharāma Śarmā. The word seems to have some relationship with Bundelkhand in Madhya Pradesh where the inhabitants are called Bundelas.

6. *Gopāla* (No. 43, L. 12) :

Gopāla literally meaning 'the protector or foster of the cows' is the name of Lord Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa

7. *Guha* (No. 43, L. 10) :

Guha is the name of Skanda or Kārttikeya, Lord Śiva, Lord Viṣṇu.[63] According to Monier Williams, it is a name belonging to persons of the writer caste.[64] We cannot say with affirmity whether Guha was a writers' caste in the Gupta period.

8. *Hari* (No. 43, L.7) :

Hari is the name of Lord Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa. It is to be derived from $\sqrt{}$*hṛ*, 'to take away or remove evil or sin'.[65]

9. *Kālaka* (No. 43, L. 11) :

It means dark-blue or black.[66] It is a name based on colour.[67] We have several cases of names with the word Kālaka, for example, 'Kālakākṣa' black-eyed, the name of an Asura; 'Kālakācārya' a Jain teacher and astronomer; 'Kālakendra' name of a prince of the Dhanavas.[68] It is a name with the suffix '*ka*'.

10. *Kaṅkuṭi* (No. 43, L. 9) :
The Sanskrit form will be *kaṅkaṭin* meaning 'furnished with armour'; when the form is *Kaṅkaṭinī* it means 'a chamberlain'.[69] Kaṅku is a mistake for kaṅka.[70] Kaṅku was the name of a son of Ugrasena.[71] Kaṅka,[72] according to lexicographers means 'a false or pretended brāhmaṇa'; it was the name assumed by Yudhiṣṭhira before king Virāṭa, when in the disguise of a brāhmaṇa.

11. *Līḍhaka* (No. 43, L. 11) :
This name has also been formed by the addition of the suffix '*ka*'. The word is formed by the root '$\sqrt{}$*lih*' to lick, to eat or to taste.[73] Līḍhaka thus means 'one who licks'. The name may have been given due to his habits of licking which exhibit greediness.

12. *Mahī* (No. 43, L. 10) :
Mahī means 'earth' personified as deity. We have many names, formed with Mahī or its synonym, for example, Mahīdāsa, Mahīdatta, Pṛthivīkumāra, etc.

13. *Nābhaka* (No. 33, L. 4, L. 8) :
The name is formed with the addition of suffix '*ka*' to *nābha* or *nābhi* meaning navel.[74] Literally it means 'navel born'. Generally incarnations are said to have been born from *nābhi* just as Brahmā is said to have first appeared on the lotus sprung from the navel of Viṣṇu.

14. *Puraṁdara* (No. 43, L.9) :
Literally meaning 'destroyer of strongholds', *Puraṁdara* is the name of Indra, the lord of the gods.[75]

15. *Śaṁkara* (No. 43, L. 9) :
Literally meaning 'causing prosperity', Saṁkara is the name of Lord Śiva.[76].

16. *Undāna* (No. 5, L.5) :
The root apparent in the form is $\sqrt{}$*ud*—$\sqrt{}$*und* meaning to wet, bathe[77] from which the name can be derived. The name

Undāna may, therefore, mean 'kind or humane'.[78]

17. *Vailinaka*[79] (No. 43, L. 5) :
The name is formed by adding suffix '*ka*' to *Vellana* which means 'going, moving about, shaking, rolling (of a horse)'.[80] *Vellana* is also a sort of rolling pin with which cakes, *chappatis*, etc., are prepared.[81] The name denotes the habit of rolling or moving about of the child. In modern times also names like *Bellana* (*Vellana*) are given. It may refer to the baby being fat. It can refer to a person's changing temperament.

18. *Vampiyaka* (No. 52, L. 20) :
It should be read as Vappiyaka. It is the name of a king in the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[82] *Vappa* is the Prakrtised form for *vapra* meaning 'a rampart, any shore or bank, mound, hillock'[83] or the field.[84] *Vappia* also means 'field.[85] to which the suffix '*ka*' has been added. We have similar names such as 'Kedāranātha' meaning 'owner of the field'.

19. *Viśva* (No. 43, L. 9) :
Formed from the $\sqrt{}$*viś* to pervade, it means all-pervading or all containing, omnipresent. It is applied to Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa.[86] We have many similar names, e.g., Viśvakarman, Viśvanātha and Viśvadatta.

Miscellaneous

1. *Ādityabandhu* (No. 52, L. 20) :
The first part is Āditya meaning 'the deity Sun,; *bandhu* means 'a relation or friend'. So the whole means 'a friend of god Sun'. We have many examples of names with *bandhu* as the second part, e.g. Dīnabandhu, Viśvabandhu, Vedabandhu, etc. We have also names with Āditya as their first part such as Ādityanātha and Ādityanārāyaṇa.

2. *Dāmarudra* (No. 43, L. 6) :
Dāman means 'garland'[87] and Rudra stands for Śiva. The whole literally means 'Rudra having a garland'. The names with the first word 'dāman' were popular in ancient times.[88] We also find dāman-ending names in ancient literature.

3. *Īśvaracandra* (No. 43, L. 6) :
Īśvara literally meaning 'powerful (capable of doing)' is often used as a synonym for Lord Śiva.[89] Candra means 'the Moon'. The whole will literally mean 'the Moon of Lord Śiva,

situated on the forehead of Lord Śiva'. Names with Candra as their second part are quite common even now, e.g., Śivacandra, Rāmacandra and Kṛṣṇacandra.

4. *Kumārabhūti* (No. 43, L. 5) :
Kumāra means Skanda or Kārttikeya and *bhūti* means power or wealth.[90] So the whole will mean 'power or wealth of Kumāra'. We have also similar names like 'Bhavabhūti' meaning power or wealth of Lord Śiva.

5. *Kumārayaśas* (No. 43, L. 5) :
The whole will mean 'fame or glory of Kumāra'. A desire for the attainment of the glory of god Kārttikeya is reflected here.

6. *Mahāsena* (No. 43, L. 7) :
Mahāsena seems to have been used for Kārttikeya. Literally meaning 'having a great army or the commander of a large force or a great general', Mahāsena is the name of Kārttikeya or Skanda.[91] Senā 'armed force' is also personified as the wife of Kārttikeya.[92]

7. *Nandadāma* (No. 43, L.8) :
Nanda is the name of the foster father of Kṛṣṇa [93] Dāman means 'garland'.[94] The whole literally means 'a garland of Nanda' i.e. one who is dearer to Nanda. It may refer to Lord Kṛṣṇa. We have many examples of names with Nanda as their first part, e.g., Nandalal, Nandakishore and Nandakumāra.

8. *Prabhakīrtti*[95] (No. 43, L 11) :
Prabha is the Prakritised form of Prabhu meaning 'God'. *Kīrti* may be translated as glory. The whole thus means 'glory of God'.

NAMES OF VAṆIKS (TRADERS)

1. *Acalavarman* (No. 16, L. 6) :
Acala means 'firm' or 'stable'. Varman is a surname used for kṣatriyas. Acalavarman is specifically mentioned as a kṣatriya.[96] This is significant. It means that kṣatriyas followed the profession of vaiśyas.

2. *Bandhumitra* (No. 34, L.5; No. 35, L. 4) :
The name literally means "a friend of his relatives".

3. *Bhṛ(bhru)kuṇṭhasiṁha* (No. 16, L. 6) :
The first part of the name means "one with contracted brows (out of anger)". The second part is *siṁha* or lion which is often

the surname of kṣatriyas.*

4. *Kapila* (No. 33, L. 8) :

He is described as a merchant but he also acted as a scribe. The name is based on colour and is probably to be connected with *kapi* 'monkey-coloured' brown, tawny, reddish.[97]

5 *Śrībhadra* (No. 33, L. 8) :

It is the name of a merchant who also acts as a scribe. It is a name based on *Śrī* 'the goddess of wealth', the whole meaning 'auspicious for wealth'.

6. *Sthāṇudatta* (No. 37. L. 5) :

The name is based on the name of Lord Śiva who is also called, 'Sthāṇu' meaning firm or immovable.[98] 'Datta' is a surname which means 'given'. The whole expression means begotten on by the grace of Lord 'Śiva'.

7. *Sthāya(na)pāla* (No. 33, L. 8) :

A merchant who also acts as a scribe. D.C. Sircar takes the reading 'Sthāyapāla'.[99] He also suggests the possibility of a second reading '*sthānapāla*' which means 'watchman or policeman'.[100] This reading seems to be correct; Sthāyapāla yields no sensible meaning.

8. *Vasumitra* (No. 36, L. 4) :

The first part of the name is *vasu* (wealth) and the second is *mitra* the whole literally meaning 'a friend of wealth'. Another possibility is that the name vasu stands for a group of deities and mitra means the sun and vasumitra thereby yielding the sense "a sun among deities"

REFERENCES

1. Fz. p. 9, col. 2.
2. Ibid., p. 867, col. 3.
3. Ibid., p. 745, col. 3.
4. Ibid., p. 292, col. 1-2.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 294, col. 2.
7. Ibid., p. 807, col. 1.
8. The reading is checked by me.
9. Fz. p. 1057, col. 1.
10. Ibid., p. 412, col. 3.
11. H. p. 88.

* Cf. जयनाथ-जयकांत, जयपति, जयपाल, जयरत्न; अभिधान-चिन्तामणि, पृ० 45.

श्लोक 175: तन्नयस्तु जयन्तः स्याज्जयदत्तो जयश्च सः ॥

12. Fz. p. 413, col. 1; Bz. pp. 61-64.
13. Passim.
14. JJ. XIX, p. 21, f. n. 8. The reading has been checked by me.
15. Fz. p. 1213, col. 1.
16. Ibid.
17. H. p. 440.
18. Fz. p. 509, col. 1.
19. Ibid., p. 1289, col. 3.
20. Ibid., p. 533, col. 1.
21. Ibid., p. 529, col. 1.
22. Ibid., p. 289, col. 3.
23. T. Burrow, (Mg)[1] 'Non-Aryan Influence on Sanskrit', p. 381.
    Tamila : *Kuṇṭu* 'hollow; pool, pit';
    Malyalam : *Kuṇṭu* 'hole, pit';
    Kannada : *Kuṇṭe, Kuṇḍa, guṇḍi,* 'hole, pit', etc.
    Cf. Mayrhofer, A. p. 226.
24. Barua, Zz. p. 95.
25. Bhandarkar, HJ. March 1932, p. 52, Sircar, JJ. XIX, pp. 17-18.
26. Xy. p. 517.
27. Fz. p. 626, col. 2.
28. Ibid., p. 690, col. 3.
29. Ibid., p. 307, col. 2.
30. The reading has been checked by me.
31. Fz. p. 875, col. 1.
32. Ibid., col. 1-2.
33. Ibid., p. 749, col. 1.
34. Ibid., p. 534, col. 3.
35. Ibid., For the use as the second part we have here Bhavanātha, other examples are Śivanātha, Rāmanātha, etc.
36. Ibid., p. 749, col. 1.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., p. 1058, col. 2-3.
39. Ibid., p. 1298, col. 3.
40. GJ. vol. II, p. 95.
41. Just like we have such names as Vasantarāma or Vasantarāja based on the spring season.
42. Fz. p. 311, col. 3. The *Kaivarttas* or *Kevattas* (Keots) were spread all over the country in Bengal.

Hg. Vol. I, p. 67. As an occupational caste it has divided itself into Jaliya Kaivarttas who practised the calling of fisherman, and *Haliya* (or *chasi*) Kaivarttas (also spelled as Kaibarttas) who lived by agriculture. Latter on *Haliya Kaivarttas* thinking themselves superior banned all intermarriage with *Jaliya Kaivarttas* and succeeded in getting recognition as a separate caste under the name of *Mahiṣya* (Hutton, W. p. 46). According to the Brahmavaivartta Purāṇa, Kaivarta is born of a kṣatriya father and

vaiśya mother which is known as Mahiṣya (Gautam, IV, 20). It seems to imply that Kaivarta was degraded in Kaliyuga by his association with the *Tīvara* and was known as, or adopted the vocation of a *dhīvara* or fisherman (Majumdar, **Cg**. Vol. I, p. 591.)

43. **Fz**. p. 319, col. 3.
44. Ibid., p. 885.
45. Ibid., p. 1080, col. 1.
46. Ibid., p. 50, col. 2.
47. Ibid., col. 3.
48. Ibid., p. 930, col. 3.
49. Ibid., p. 94, col. 3 : अभिधान-चिन्तामणि, पृ० 252, श्लो० 1103 सफुलिंगोऽग्नि-कणोऽलातज्वालोल्काऽलातमुल्मुकम् ।
50. **Fz**. p. 94, col. 3.
51. Ibid., p. 1284, col. 1.
52. Ibid., p. 737, col. 1.
53. Ibid., pp. 737 ff.
54. Ibid., p. 1057, col. 1.
55. Ibid., p. 1249, col. 3.
56. Cf. Kīrtti-Viṣṇu, No. 3.
57. **Fz**. p. 9, col. 2.
58. Ibid., p. 756, col. 1.
59. Ibid., pp. 748-49, col. 3-1
60. Pāṇini, V. 3.79.
61. **Jy**. p. 191, No. 18.
62. **Xy**. p. 638.
63. **Fz**. p. 360, col. 2.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid., p. 1289, col. 3.
66. Ibid., p. 277, col. 3.
67. अंगविज्जा, पृ० 153 भूमिका पृ० 47.
68. **Fw**. p. 277, col. 3.
69. Ibid., p. 242, col. 2.
    Xy. p. 638.
70. Ibid., see : Kaṅku.
71. Ibid.
72. **Fz**. p. 242, col. 1.
73. Ibid., p. 903, col. 1.
    अंगविज्जा, पृ० 153, भूमिका, पृ० 47.
74. **Fz**. p. 535, col. 3. See *nābha* and *nābhi*.
75. Ibid., p. 635, col. 3.
76. Ibid., p. 1054, col. 3.
77. Ibid., p. 183, col. 1, See $\sqrt{}$*ud* 2.
78. Ibid., col. 3. See *unna*.
79. The reading has been checked by me.
80. **Fz**. p. 746, col. 1.
81. Ibid., p. 746, col. 1.

82. Ibid., p. 920, col. 2. See *vappiya* or *vappiyaka*.
    Bz. p. 108.
83. **Fz.** p. 920, col. 1.
84. **Xy.** p. 745.
85. Ibid., p. 746:वप्पिअ, पु. (दे) i.e. a *desī* word.
86. **Fz.** p. 992, col. 2.
87. Ibid., p. 475, col. 1.
88. Ibid., p. 474, col. 3 : Dāmakaṇṭha, Dāmagranthi, Dāmacandra, Dāmodara, etc.
89. Ibid., p. 171, col. 1.
90. Ibid., p. 762, col. 3.
91. Ibid., p. 801, col. 3.
92. Ibid., p. 1246, col. 2.
93. Ibid., p. 526, col. 3.
94. Cf. **Pz.** pp. 106-07.
95. The reading has been checked by me.
96. No. 16, L. 6 : इन्द्रापुरक-वणिग्भ्यां क्षत्रियाचलवर्म-भृ (भ्र) कुण्ठसिङ्हाभ्यामधिष्टा (ठा) नस्य......।
97. **Fz.** p. 250, col. 3 : Cf. V.S. Agrawala, **Jy.** pp. 190-91.
98. **Fz.** p. 1262, col. 3.
99. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 333, L.8.
100. Ibid., f.n. 7.

Names of Brahmanas; Jainas and Baudddhas

NAMES OF BRĀHMAṆAS

Names ending in Bhaṭṭa

1. *Devabhaṭṭa* (No. 43, LL. 14-15; L. 26) :
Deva, the first part of the name, means 'god, heavenly or divine'. The second part is a name-ending suffix used for learned brāhmaṇas. The ending Bhaṭṭa denoting a scholar later became a surname, just as the English word 'Master' is undergoing a change in usage with the Gujarati-speaking people and the word 'professor' may soon have with the Marāṭhī-speaking people.[1]

Devabhaṭṭa was a brāhmaṇa. He was an inhabitant of Puṇḍravardhana. He belonged to Vājasaneyacaraṇa, and was versed in the four Vedas.

2. *Kurama(ā)ravyabhaṭṭa* (No. 39, L. 5) :
He is mentioned as a teacher of Chandoga (*Veda*), with the *gotras* Aśva and Vājin. *Kuramā* means bad (or misused) wealth and '*ravya*' means 'famous'; bhaṭṭa is a surname added to the names of scholarly brāhmaṇas. So the whole expression may mean 'a teacher who is known for the ill use of his wealth'. Though such queer names are actually in practice it is not unlikely that in the present case it is the nick-name which has been mentioned.

3. *Viṣṇupālitabhaṭṭa* (No. 39, L. 5) :
He was the son of Kuramāravyabhaṭṭa, a teacher of the Chandoga (*Veda*), with the *gotras Aśva* and *Vājin*. The first part of his name 'Visṇupālita' literally means 'protected by god Viṣṇu'; the second part '*bhaṭṭa*' signifies a learned brāhmaṇa.

Names ending in Datta

1. *Amaradatta* (No. 43, L. 15; L. 26) :
The first part 'Amara' means 'a god' and the second part '*datta*' means 'given'. Thus the whole will mean 'Given by gods'. He was an inhabitant of Puṇḍravardhana, and is described as belonging to Vājasaneyacaraṇa and as versed in the four Vedas.

Amaradatta was also the name of a lexicographer and also of a prince in the Kathāsaritsāgara.[2]

2. *Mahāsenadatta* (No. 43, L. 15; L. 26) :
The first part is 'Mahāsena' which is the name of Kārttikeya or Skanda.[3] The second part is '*datta*' which means 'given'. The whole expression means 'given by god Skanda'. Mahāsenadatta was a brāhmaṇa inhabitant of Puṇḍravardhana, belonging to Vājasaneyacaraṇa and versed in the four Vedas.

Names ending in Śarmman

1. *Nāgaśarmman* (No. 29, L. 3) :
The first part is *Nāga* based on the Nāga or serpent-demon. The second part *śarmman* (or śarman) is a brāhmaṇa surname.

2. *Nāthaśarmman* (No. 28, LL. 3-4; L. 12; L. 17) :
In lines 3-4 and 12 we get the second part as śarmman but in L. 17 we find it as śarmma. The first part is *Nātha* meaning 'protector, patron, possessor, owner, lord'.[4] The second part is a brāhmaṇa surname. Nātha is the name of several authors.[5]

3. *Śivaśarmman* (No. 29, L. 3) :
The first part is the name of god Siva and the second is śarmman.

Names ending in Svāmin

1. *Gopadevasvāmin* (No. 21, L. 10) :
The name has two parts. The first part is *Gopadeva* and the second part is '*svāmin*'. Gopadeva means 'Lord of the cowherds' and is often applied to Indra, Kṛṣṇa or Viṣṇu, mostly to the last two in the post-Vedic period. The second part '*svāmin*' means 'a spiritual proceptor, learned brāhmaṇa or Paṇḍita' (used as a title at the end of names, especially of natives of the Karnataka).[6]

2. *Jayabhaṭṭisvāmin* (No. 40, L. 6) :

The first part of the name is Jayabhaṭṭi. *Jaya* literally means triumph or being victorious (in battle, lawsuit, etc.). It was also the name of Arjuna (the son of Pāṇḍu), Indra, the sun, of an attendant of Viṣṇu and of many sages.[7] *Bhaṭṭa* or *Bhaṭṭi* is affixed to the names of learned brāhmaṇas.[8] As explained above, the second part of the name *svāmin* is the surname added to the names of learned brāhmaṇas. Jayabhaṭṭisvāmin was a brāhmaṇa and has been mentioned as *traividya* in subsequent lines of the inscription[9] (L. 8; L. 9).

Miscellaneous

1. *Amṛtadeva* (No. 37, L. 6; L. 14) :

The first part is Amṛta and the second is 'deva'. The term can mean 'the god Amṛtā' which is the name of Lord Viṣṇu or we may call him 'the god of nectar' (*Amṛtasya deva*). It may also be explained as "Whose Lord is the nectar" or *amṛtam devo'sya*. He was an inhabitant of Ayodhyā.

2. *Deva* (No. 16, L. 5) :

It is an abbreviated name without any surname. Literally it means 'god, heavenly, divine' (also said of terrestrial things of high excellence.)[10] It is also the name of men, and is used as a short form for Devadatta.[11] Deva of our inscription belonged to the community of the *Caturvedins* of the locality called Padmā in the town of Indrapura.

3. *Devaviṣṇu* (No. 16, L, 5) :

The first part is 'Deva' which means 'god'. The second part is Viṣṇu which may be the name of his family deity. Devaviṣṇu belonged to the community of Caturvedins of the locality called Padmā in the city of Indrapura. He performed the Agnihotra of the Rāṇāyaṇīya Śakhā of the Vedas every day.

4. *Duḍika* (No. 16, L. 5) :

He was a brāhmaṇa belonging to the community of *Caturvedins* of the locality known as Padmā in the city of Indrapura. He has been mentioned as the great grand-father of the brāhmaṇa Dévaviṣṇu, the giver of an endowment for the maintenance of a lamp in the temple of the god Sun.

It is an abbreviated name with the ending "*ika*'[12] like Devika for Devadatta; Yajñika for Yajñadatta and Chadika for Chandodatta.[13]

The name 'Ḍaḍḍa', 'Ḍuḍḍa' or 'Ḍuḍḍā'[14] cannot be derived from any Sanskrit root. Nor are these names found in any Sanskrit or Prakrit dictionary. Dr. H.D. Sankalia suggests that these names were derived from the Sanskrit term Dardara,[15] meaning 'a mountain', or a region having holes or ravines. The man may have shifted from a hilly region.

We find references to geographical names like 'Daddarapabbata' and 'Mahādaddara' in the Daddara Jātaka.[16] The *Daddarapabbata* may be identified with the mountainous tract of Dardistan, lying to the north-west of Kashmir, and south of Little Pamir. Since the river Sindhu after its origin in the Himalayas near Tibet flows through this country, Pāṇini calls the river *Dāradī Sindhuḥ*.[17]

The people of this tract, the *Daradas* are mentioned in the Mahābhārata in the list of the foreign tribes which sprang up along with the Yavanas, Mlecchas and Śakas, from the cow Kāmadhenu, when she was being forcibly driven away by Viśvāmitra from Vasiṣṭha's *āśrama*.[18] The Daradas are the people, living above Peshawar.[19] But the basic weakness in the suggestion made by Dr. H.D. Sankalia[20] is, as he himself admits, these names are not found in any Sanskrit or Prakrit dictionary.

It may be noted that the words Ḍoḍa and Ḍoḍḍa are synonyms used for a brāhmaṇa and Ḍoḍiṇī stands for a brāhmaṇī, or a brāhmaṇa-woman.[21] These are deśya words and hence refer to local elements.

In Punjabi language a person who is very simple or credulous or who can be very easily cheated is called 'Ḍoḍa'. It is not unlikely that on account of his pious ways and bookish approach a brāhmaṇa was generally taken to be a simple person. In the Sanskrit story books the picture of a typical brāhmaṇa is that of a simpleton who can be easily duped. Hence it is possible that a brāhmaṇa was called 'Ḍoḍa' and the feminine form of 'Ḍoḍa' (i.e. Ḍoḍiṇī) was used for a brāhmaṇa-woman.[22]

In Karnataka 'Ḍoḍḍu' means 'big' or elder. '*Doḍḍācārya*' or '*Duḍḍācārya*' a term of respect for a learned Paṇḍita is also used in satire.

It is interesting to note that *Daḍḍa* is also an English slang word meaning 'a foolish person'.

5. *Haritrāta* (No. 16, L. 5) :
The first part of the name is Hari, which means 'God' and is also the name among others of Lord Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa. Generally Hari is derived from √*hṛ*' to take away or remove evil or sin.[23] The second part '*trāta*' means 'protected'. Thus the whole literally means 'protected by Hari'.[24] Haritrāta was a brāhmaṇa belonging to the community of the *Caturvedins* of the locality called Padmā in the town named Indrapura.

6. *Karppaṭika*[25] (No. 34, L. 6) :
The inscription records the purchase of land measuring one kulyavāpa by a brāhmaṇa, named Karppatika, for the purpose of his *agnihotra* rites.

The word 'Karpaṭika' or Kārpaṭika means 'acting deceitfully, fradulent, dishonest, a rogue, cheat'.[26] It also means a beggar.[27] Both the meanings may be applied here.

7. *Traividya* (No. 40, L. 8; L. 9) :
His real name which occurs in L. 6 of the inscription was 'Jayabhaṭṭisvāmin'. He was also known as Traividya The term literally means 'one who knows the three Vedas—*Ṛk*, *Sāma* and *Yajus*'.

NAMES OF JAINAS AND BAUDDHAS

1. *Abhayamitra* (No. 48, L. 2; No. 54, L. 2) :
The name consisting of two parts '*abhaya*' and '*mitra*' can mean a friend of unfearfulness or 'an unfearful friend'. 'Abhaya' is also the name of Lord Śiva[28] and 'mitra' is a synonym for the god Sun. Thus it may also be a name formed by combining the names of two deities as in the case of Rāmakṛṣṇa. Abhayamitra was the name of a Buddhist monk who caused a *pratimā* to be built.

2. *Bhadra* (No. 22, L. 4) :
It is the name of a Jaina Ācārya. Literally it means 'blessed, auspicious, fortunate, prosperous, happy'. *Bhadra* is also the name of Lord Śiva.[29]

3. *Bhaṭṭibhava* (No. 31, L. 2) :

The image on which the Mathurā Jaina Inscription of Kumāragupta I, of G.E. 113 is inscribed was set up by Śāmāḍhyā (Śyāmāḍhyā), the daughter of Bhaṭṭibhava. Bhaṭṭibhava seems to have been a brāhmaṇa-follower of Jainism. Bhaṭṭa or Bhaṭṭi, a surname meaning 'a teacher' has been put here before Bhava. Bhaṭṭi is the Prakritised form of Sanskrit 'Bharti' meaning a lord or master which came to be accepted as a Sanskrit word. 'Bhava' means 'a god, deity' and is also the name of Lord Śiva. Bhava also means 'prosperity, welfare'.[30] Thus the full name literally means 'one who is a (source of) prosperity, for his teacher'. It can also be a case of a name after the deity 'Bhava' or 'Śiva'.

4. *Bhaṭṭisoma* (No. 15, L. 6) :

It was the name of a Jaina worshipper. He is described as a *mahātman* the son of Somila who was a treasure-house of many virtues. The name Bhaṭṭi-soma literally means, "Who is just like a Soma (a life-giving element) for his teacher." It can as well be a case of a name after the deity Soma.

5. *Buddhamitra* (No. 11, L. 1) :

'Buddha' refers to 'Lord Buddha' and '*mitra*' means friend. The whole thus literally means 'a friend of Lord Buddha'. It is the name of a Buddhist monk.

6. *Datilācāryya* (No. 31, L. 2) :

He was a Jaina ācāryya. The correct form of the name should have been Dattilācārya. The word seems to be in a Prakritised form. According to Monier Williams[31] 'Dattila' is one of the forms of names terminating in '*datta*'. Names like Devadatta when contracted may turn into Dattila.[32] Ācāryya seems to be an epithet.

7. *Gośarmman* (No. 22, LL. 4-5) :

'*Go*' means cow and *śarmman* means 'shelter or protection'.[33] Thus the whole may literally mean 'one who is a shelter for the cows'. Ācāryya Gośarmman mentioned as a *muni* seems to have been a Jaina Ācāryya.

8. *Guhanandin* (No. 39, L. 6; L. 13) :

The first part Guha is the name of Skanda[34] and the second part is *nandin*; meaning thereby, 'one who is a servant of Lord Skanda'. Guhanandin was the name of a Jaina Ācāryya.

The names of the Digaṁbara Ācāryas of the third and

fourth centuries, such as Yaśonandin Jayanandin, and Kumāranandin generally end in nandin. As Puṇḍravardhana was one of the seats of Jaina pontiffs, beginning with Gupti-Gupta or Viśākhācāryya, the disciple of Bhadrabāhu II, it has been suggested that Guhanandin also belonged to the same place.[35]

9. *Jitasena* (No. 52, L. 30) :
The first part of the name '*Jita*' means 'won'. 'Sena' the second part of the name, generally refers to an army but in the present case we may translate it better as 'body' which is supported by lexicographers.[36] Thus the whole may literally mean 'One who has won the body', i.e. one having control over one's senses'. This would suit the context because Jitasena was an ācāryya of the Buddhist order.[37]

10. *Kapila* (No. 41, L. 6) :
It is a name based on colour. Kapila means 'monkey-coloured' or 'yellow-coloured'. He was one of the teachers of the Māheśvara cult and has been mentioned as Bhagavān Kapila.

11. *Kuśika* (No. 41, L. 5) :
He is described as one of the pupils of Lakulin (Nakulin in the Vāyu Purāṇa), an incarnation of Maheśvara.[38] It is an abbreviated name formed by the addition of the surffix '*ika*'. According to lexicographers literally Kuśika means 'squint-eyed'.[39] In the present inscription the name has the epithet bhagavān prefixed to it.

12. *Madra* (No. 15, L. 8) :
He was a follower of Jaina cult full of affection for brāhmaṇas and religious preceptors and ascetics and set up five stone images of Ādikartṛs or Tīrthaṁkaras, i. e. the five images in the niches of the column and the column itself, at the village of Kakubha, i.e., Kahaum.

Madra is the name of a country to the north-west of Hindustan proper, or a king (pl. the people) of this country. It was also the name of a son of Śibi (the progenitor of the Madras).[40] Mādrī, we get the name of a princess of Madra.[41] Literally it means 'joy'.[42]

13. *Parāśara* (No. 41, L. 6) :
He is mentioned as an ācārya of the Māheśvara cult. The epithet 'Bhāgavan' has been prefixed to his name. Literally Parāśara means 'a crusher, destroyer'.[43] Parāśara is also the

name of an ancient sage, an authority on Jyotiṣa, Kṛṣi, Vṛkṣāyurveda and Dharmaśāstra.

14. *Pārśva* (No. 22, L. 3) :
The name has its origins in Pārśva or Pārśvanātha; the best of the Jinas. It is the name of the 23rd Arhat of the present cycle and his servant.[44]

15. *Rudrasoma* (No. 15, L. 7) :
He is the son of Bhaṭṭisoma who has been mentioned as a *mahātmā*. He is described as having another appellation of *Vyāghra*.[45] It may be a name formed by the combination of the names of two deities Rudra and Soma.

16. *Śaṁkara* (No. 22, L. 6) :
It is the name of a Jaina monk[46], who installed an image of Pārśvanātha. Literally meaning 'causing prosperity', it is one of the common names of Lord Śiva.[47] The present case goes against the traditions of the Smṛtis which forbid the giving of the names of deities directly to human beings.

17. *Sanasiddha* (No. 23, L. 1; L. 9) :
It was the name of an *upāsaka*. It seems to be a Prakritised form of Sanskrit '*svayaṁ siddha*' [48], meaning 'existing on one's own strength'. Another possibility is that as '*sana*' means 'old, ancient',[49] the whole may mean '*Siddha* of old'. It may be noted that in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa *sanaśruta* (meaning famous of old) appears as the name of a man.

18. *Śāntideva* (No. 52, L. 4) :
He was a Buddhist monk of the Mahāyāna school and has been mentioned as Ācāryya Śāntideva.[50] The name Śāntideva was quite popular among the Buddhists. Literally the name means 'the god of tranquillity or prosperity'.

19. *Somila* (No. 15, L. 6) :
It is the name of a follower of Jainism whose great grandson Madra is mentioned as having established the five excellent images referring to the five named Jaina Tīrthaṁkaras sculptured on the column (viz., Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra).[51] Somila can be an abbreviated form of the name 'Somadatta'.[52] In Punjabi usage a person named 'Somadatta' may be addressed as '*Somī*; Somila may be a similar form convenient to utter. Somila can also be formed by adding '*ilac*' suffix to the word 'Soma' and hence meaning 'full of

Soma'. Somila was the name of a poet.[53] Kālidāsa also mentions a poet named Saumila (identical with Somila) along with Bhāsa.[54] In the Kathāsaritsāgara Somila is the name of an Asura.

20. *Udi(tā)cāryya* (No. 41, L. 8) :

Udita means 'proclaimed' or 'high'[55] and 'ācāryya' means teacher, the whole literally meaning 'a high teacher'. Ārya Uditācāryya was one of the ācāryyas of the Māheśvara cult, tenth from the Bhagavān Kuśika and fourth from the Bhagavān Parāśara.

21 *Upamita* (No. 41, L. 7) :

Literally the name means "compared or illustrated by comparison",[56] or in other words 'one who is quoted for comparison, i.e., very high or perfect'. Upamita was one of the ācāryyas of the Māheśvara cult.

EPIC and Puranic Names

In our inscriptions we get references to Epic and Puranic names which are as follows :—

1. *Bali* (No. 14, L. 2) :

The reference to Bali comes in connection with the praise of Lord Viṣṇu.[57] Literally meaning 'one who is powerful or vigorous', Bali was the son of Virocana and the grandson of Prahlāda and has been the king of the Asuras.[58] A famous legend about him runs thus—The demon Bali, by his austerities acquired the dominion over the three worlds, and caused annoyance and anxiety to the gods. Viṣṇu then reincarnated himself as a dwarf, appeared before Bali, and asked for as much land as he could cover with three strides. Bali assented to his request, and Viṣṇu with two strides covered the heavens and the earth, but, in commiseration for Bali, who then humbled himself, left him the dominion over the lower regions below the earth.[59] We get a reference to this legend as early as in the Viṣṇusūkta of the Ṛgveda.[60]

2. *Buddha* (No. 23, LL. 6-7) :

He has been given the epithet 'The Divine' (Bhagavān Buddha). He is mentioned in connection with a Buddhist temple. Literally the name means awakened, conscious or intelligent. For Buddhists it stands for a fully enlightened man who has achieved perfect knowledge of the truth and thereby is liberated from all existence and before his own attainment of Nirvāṇa reveals the method of obtaining it. The principal Buddha of the present age was born at Kapilavastu in the year 566 B.C.[61] His father Śuddhodana was the Rājā of that district. His mother was Māyādevī, and his original name was Siddhārtha. He belonged to the Kṣatriya Śākya tribe, while Gautama seems to refer to the race to which his family belonged. He had left his home in quest of truth and after a concentrated

meditation for a few years attained the discovery of truths and was called the Buddha or the enlightened.[62]

3. *Kṛṣṇa* (No. 13, L. 13) :

It is a name based on colour, meaning black-dark, dark-blue. "Vasudeva, a descendant of Yadu and Yayāti, had by his second wife Devakī, eight sons of whom the last, Kṛṣṇa, was born with black skin and a peculiar mark on his breast".[63] Yaśodā was Kṛṣṇa's foster-mother to whom he was shifted in Gokula or Vraja immediately after his birth to escape the cruel hands of Kaṁsa. In our inscription Skandagupta has been compared with Lord Kṛṣṇa, who after slaying his enemy Kaṁsa had returned to his mother Devakī.[64]

4. *Pārtha* (No. 17, L. 14; No. 19, L. 5) :

In No. 17, king Viśvavarman is compared with Pārtha in (heroic) deeds of war. In No. 19 Bhānugupta is described as a mighty king equal to Pārtha, exceedingly heroic. Pārtha is formed from Pṛthā and is a metronymic for Arjuna who has been mentioned in the Purāṇas, as the husband of Subhadrā and father of Abhimanyu.[65]

5. *Pṛthu* (No. 2, LL. 7-8) :

Samudragupta is stated to have surpassed the kings like Pṛthu and Rāghava in giving gold. Literally Pṛthu means broad, wide, expansive, extensive, spacious or large.[66]

About nineteen Pṛthus have been mentioned in the Purāṇas,[67] the most important and famous being the Vainya. Here the reference seems to this Pṛthu, the Vainya.

He is the son of Vena got out of by the churning his right arm by the sages to save him from falling into hell and is considered the ninth incarnation of Hari. He was the first king who introduced agriculture. Due to scarcity of supply when people complained of hunger, he armed his arrow and the earth was milked. Hilly tracts were levelled and different kinds of villages, cities and towns were organised for the first time. Pṛthu has been panegyrised by the Gandharvas, and Siddhas playing on different musical instruments.[68]

6. *Rāghava* (No. 2, L. 8) :

Samudragupta is mentioned to have surpassed the kings like Pṛthu and Rāghava in giving gold.[69] Rāghava literally means a descendant of Raghu,[70] and is used as a patronymic of Aja,

of Daśaratha and of Rāmacandra. In dual number (rāghavau) it refers to Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa.[71]

7. *Sagara* (No. 36, L. 12; No. 37, L. 21) :

He is mentioned in these inscriptions as a donor of lands.[72]

Literally Sagara means 'containing poison or poisonous' It is the name of a king of the solar race, sovereign of Ayodhyā, son of Bāhu. He is said to have been called Sa-gara, as born together with a poison administered to his mother by the co-wives of her husband. He was father of Asamañjasa by Keśinī and of sixty thousand sons by Sumati; the latter were turned into a heap of ashes by the sage Kapila, and their funeral ceremonies could only be performed by the waters of Gaṅgā to be brought from heaven for the purpose of purifying their remains; this was finally accomplished by Bhagīratha.[73]

8. *Vyāsa* (No. 28, L. 21; No. 29, L. 14; No. 36, L. 15; No. 43, L. 30; No. 44, L. 21; No. 52, LL. 11-12) :

Vyāsa has been mentioned as Bhagavān (venerable) Vyāsa in No. 28; as Dvaipāyana in No. 29 and as Vedavyāsa in No. 44. In No. 43, there is a reference to his sayings in the Mahābhārata.[74] In No. 52 he is described as the compiler of the Vedas and as a son of Parāśara.[75]

Literally Vyāsa means 'division or extension' and as the name of a person it signifies an arranger, complier or narrator. Vyāsa is said to have rearranged the Vedas into four parts, and taught each of them to four respective pupils—Paila, Vaiśaṁpāyana, Jaimini and Sumantu; he also rearranged Itihāsa—Purāṇas and composed the Bhārata and the Bhāgavata.[76] Subsequently, the name Vyāsa came to be applied to any great typical compiler or author.[77] He was the son of the sage Parāśara and was brought forth by his mother Satyavatī on an island in the river Yamunā. Hence he is also known as Dvaipāyana and Bādarāyaṇa.[78] As he was called Kṛṣṇa-Dvaipāyana, it seems that Vyāsa, Dvaipāyana, and Bādarāyaṇa were epithets; his original name might have been Kṛṣṇa due to his dark complexion,[79] and he was called 'Dvaipāyana for being born on an island (*dvīpa*).'

9. *Yudhiṣṭhira* (No. 28, L. 24; No. 29, L. 16; No. 35, L. 12; No. 36, L. 17; No. 43, L. 33; No. 44, L. 24; No. 52, L. 14) :

He is mentioned in the imprecatory verses and is described as the best of kings. Literally meaning 'firm or steady in battle', it was the name of the eldest of the five sons of Pāṇḍu. He was father of Prativindhya and Sudhanu and before his death installed his grandson Parīkṣita on the throne (at Hastinapur) and Vajra at Mathurā.[80]

REFERENCES

1. H.D. Sankalia, **Pz.** p. 118; **Fz.** p. 493, col. 3.
2. **Fz.** p. 80, col. 2-3.
3. Ibid., p. 801, col. 3.
4. Ibid., p. 534, col. 3.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid., p. 1248, col. 1. We find *Svāmin* frequently used in the names of Western Kṣatraps.
7. Ibid., p. 412, col. 3.
8. Ibid., p. 745, col. 1; cf. H.D. Sankalia, **Pz.** p. 148.
9. No. 40, L. 8; L. 9.
10. **Fz.** p. 492, col. 2.
11. Ibid., col. 3; Pāṇini, V.3.83, Vārttika, 4.
12. V.S. Agrawala, **Jy.** p. 190; Pāṇini, V.3.78.
13. Ibid.
14. H.D. Sankalia, **Pz.** p. 108.
15. **Fz.** p. 470, col. 1.
16. Malalasekera, **Dx.**, I, p. 1055.
17. V.S. Agrawala, "Geographical Data in Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī", **VJ.** 16.1.19.
18. Ādi Parvan, adhyāya, 175.
19. **Fz.** p. 470, col. 1.
20. H.D. Sankalia, **Pz.** pp. 108-109.
21. **Xy.** p. 374: डोड पुं (दे) ब्राह्मण, विप्र
    डोडिणी स्त्री (दे) ब्राह्मणी
    डोड्ड पुं (दे) एक मनुष्य-जाति ब्राह्मण ।
22. Ibid., p. 222.
23. **Fz.** p. 1289, col. 3.
24. Ibid., p. 1290.
25. The reading is checked by me.
26. **Xy.** p. 222.
27. Ibid.
28. **Fz.** 60, col. 3.
29. Ibid., p. 745, col. 3.
30. Ibid., pp. 748-49, col. 3-1.
31. Ibid., p. 467, col. 3.
32. V.S. Agrawala, **Jy.** p. 192.

33. **Fz.** p. 1058, col. 2.
34. Ibid., p. 360, col. 2.
35. **Gj.** XX, No. 5, p. 60.
36. **Fz.** p. 1246, col. 2.
37. शाक्यभिक्ष्वाचार्य्य-जितसेन........।
38. (i) Vāyu Purāṇa, ch. 23, Vs. 210-13.
    (ii) Liṅga Purāṇa, ch. 24, Vs. 127-131.
    (iii) About Lakulin or Lakulīśa (holder of a club) :—
    QJ. XXII, 151ff; **GJ.** XXI, 1ff. **GJ.** XXI, 5-7, **Rz.** pp. 453-54.
39. **Fz.** p. 297, col. 2.
40. Ibid., p. 779, col. 1.
41. Pāṇini, IV. I.177.
42. Ibid., II.3.73. मद्रं तस्य, तस्मै, "Joy to him."
43. **Fz.** p. 591, col. 1.
44. Ibid., p. 662, col. 2.
45. No. 15, L. 7 : तत्सूनु रुद्रसोम (:) पृथुल-मति-यशा
    व्याघ्र इत्यन्यसंज्ञी
46. स्वसंज्ञया शङ्कर-नाम-शब्दितो विधान-युक्तं यति-मार्ग्गमास्थित:
47. **Fz.** p. 1054, col. 3.
48. स्वयंसिद्ध-संसिद्ध-सन्सिद्ध-सर्नासद्ध
49. **Fz.** p. 1141, col. 1.
50. महायानिक-शाक्यभिक्ष्वाचार्य्य-शान्तिदेव... ।
51. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 317, f.n. 3.
52. V.S. Agrawala, **Jy.** pp. 191-92.
53. **Fz.** p. 1251, col. 2.
54. प्रथितयशसां भाससौमिल्लकविपुत्रादीनां प्रबन्धानतिक्रम्य
    वर्तमानकवे: कालिदासस्य क्रियायां... ।
55. **Fz.** p. 186, col. 1-2.
56. Ibid., p. 203, col. 3.
57. श्रियमभिमतभोग्यां नैककालापनीतां
    त्रिदशपति-सुखार्त्थं यो बलेराजहार ।
    कमल-निलयनाया: शाश्वतं धाम लक्ष्म्या:
    स जयति विजितार्त्तिर्विष्णुरत्यन्त-जिष्णु: ।।
58. V.R.R. Diksitar, **Jy.** Vol. II, p. 469.
59. **(Dx)**[1], p. 62, note I.
60. Ṛgveda, I. 154.
61. R.C. Majumdar, **L.** p. 168.
62. Ibid,, p. 169.
63. **Fz.** p. 306, col. 2;
    Jg. Vol. I, pp. 435-450.
64. No. 13, V. 6, : विप्लुतां वङ्श-लक्ष्मीं, भुजबलविजितारिर्य्य: प्रतिष्ठाप्य भूय: ।
    जितमिति परितोषान्मातरं सास्रनेत्रां हतरिपुरिव कृष्णो देवकीमभ्युपेत: ।।
    "It has been suggested that his mother's name was Devakī, but this

view rests merely on an analogy which the poet had drawn between his visit to his widowed mother after his victory and that of Kṛṣṇa to Devakī. This analogy might have been due to similarity of circumstances rather than similarity of names." R.C. Majumdar, **Pg**. pp. 176-177.

65. Jg. Vol. II, p. 318.
66. **Fz**. p. 646, col. 2.
67. Jg. Vol. II, pp. 381-4.
68. Ibid., pp. 381-2.
69. No. 2, L. 8.
सुवर्ण्णदाने संवारिता नृपतयः पृथुराघवाद्याः ।
70. Jg. Vol. III, p. 43. Raghu has been known as the son of Dīrghabāhu, and a man of everlasting glory. His son was Aja.
71. **Fz**. p. 872, col. 2.
72. No. 36, L. 12; No. 37, L. 21 :
बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः ।
73. Jg. Vol. III, pp. 501-2.
Fz. p. 1125, col. 1-2.
74. No. 43, L. 30 : उक्तं च महाभारते भगवता व्यासेन
75. No. 52, LL. 11-12 : भगवता पराशरात्मजेन वेदव्यासेन......।
76. Jg. Vol. III, pp. 349-50.
77. **Fz**. p. 1035. col. 2; some scholars doubt the historicity of Vyāsa as a person and consider him to be a mythical personage, or that it simply meant 'an arranger' (Kalyāṇa, Year 41, No. 7, July, 1967, Gita Press, Gorakhpur, pp. 1036-38). Vyāsa appears as the term for a narrator of the Epics and the Purāṇas. It came to refer to learned brāhmaṇas who did this work. It appears that Vyāsa was really a historical person, who rearranged the Vedas and the Purāṇas. He seems to have started a tradition or school of learning. After his death his name was associated with his chair or seat of learning which was maintained by his successors or disciples. Vyāsa is still the gotra of many families. The literary references to Vyāsa are available in the Brāhmaṇas and the Sūtra literature as well as in the Mahābhārata and the later Sanskrit literature (op. cit., Kalyāṇa, pp. 1038-41). Here we do not propose to enter into the complicated question of the date of Vyāsa and connected events and characters. But, as is well known the Period of the Brāhmaṇas is generally supposed to extend from 1000 B.C. to 600 B.C., likewise the Sūtra literature is taken to extend from sixth or seventh century before Christ to about the second century. The Mahābhārata is generally supposed to have taken its present form in the long interval from the fifth century B.C. to A.D. 400. But the first compilation of the kernel of the Mahābhārata story from scattered *gāthās* may be placed much earlier. This receives some support from the tradition of three stages in the evolution of the Mahābhārata text. If Vyāsa is accepted as a contemporary of Kṛṣṇa and of the Mahābhārata war we may place Vyāsa round about 1000 B.C.
78. Ibid., p. 727, col. 3 : *Badara* means 'water' ; one who is brought

forth in water may be called Bādarāyaṇa.

79. Jg. Vol. I, p. 450 : See Kṛṣṇa II.
80. Fz. p. 855, col. 1;
    Jg. Vol. III, pp. 32-33.

Names of Women

We have already discussed the names of queens in another context. Here we confine ourselves to other feminine names.

1. *Dāmasvāminī* (No. 55, LL. 3-4) :

She is said to have raised a pillar in the memory of her dead parents at Rājghāṭ in Vārāṇasī.

The first part of the name, Dāman, means a 'rope' or 'girdle'[1] (originally 'bond', from √*dā* 'to bind'). But the Amarakośa gives a better explanation which takes us nearer to the original meaning. It explains '*Dāman*' as '*Sandānam*', i.e., a rope tethered to a cow at the time of milking it.[2] The second part of the name is '*svāminī*' which means 'a proprietress, mistress' or owner of (gen., loc. or comp.).[3]

The parents might have given her this name out of affection as she was a helping hand in tethering the rope to the cow while milking it.[4] The name indicates affection by the parents.

2. *Devakī* (No. 13, L. 13) :

The reference comes in the passage which describes how Skandagupta returned victorious to his mother just as Lord Kṛṣṇa went to Devakī after killing his enemy.[5] Sewell suggests that the name of Skandagupta's mother was Devakī and he has been followed by some other scholars. According to D.C. Sircar the simile may further suggest that some maternal uncle of Skandagupta actually fought against him in support of his rival and that his mother, possibly not the chief queen of his father, had to experience difficulties for sometime.[6]

Devakī is a patronymic formed by adding '*ī*' suffix to Devaka, literally meaning 'divine, celestial', who was her father.[7] She was the wife of Vasudeva and the mother of Kṛṣṇa.[8]

3. *Harisvāminī* (No. 23, LL. 1, 10) :

Upāsikā (lay-worshipper) Harisvāminī, was the wife of *Upāsaka* Sanasiddha who donated money to the *Ārya-saṁgha* (community of the faithful) at the great *vihāra* (Buddhist convent) of Kākanādaboṭa (i.e., the great *stūpa* at Sāñcī) for feeding one *Bhikṣu* everyday and maintaining lamps in the shrines of the Buddha.[9]

The first part of the name, Hari, stands alike for Lord Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The second part is '*Svāminī*' meaning mistress. Thus the whole literally means 'one who has Hari as her master'.

4. *Padmāvatī* (No. 22, L. 5) :
She was the mother of Śaṁkara, an ascetic, under whose instructions the image of the Jina-vara-pārśvanātha was made.

In the inscription we have the un-Pāṇinian use of the locative 'Padmāvatau' in place of 'Padmāvatyām' but it seems to have been done to suit the metre.

Padmāvatī is a synonym far Lakṣmī. In India it has been a popular name for women.[10]

5. *Rāmī* (No. 28, LL. 4, 12, 17) :
She has been mentioned as the wife of a brāhmaṇa, named Nāthaśarman.

Rāmī means 'darkness or night'.[11] It may mean 'a woman of dark complexion' or it can be a patronymic from Rāma.[12] Monier Williams mentions the form with short '*i*' suffix (Rāmi) but it can be with long '*ī*' as well, as we have 'Devakī' a patronymic from Devaka.[13] Chatterji mentions it to be a feminine form of Rāma and considers it a naming pattern prevalent among the lower classes [14]

6. *Sābhāṭi* (No. 55, L. 3) :
The form of the name should have better been Sabhāṭi. She was the mother of Dāmasvāminī who raised a pillar in her memory.

The name seems to have some relation with the word *Sabhā*.[15] It can be an adjective from the word *Sabhā* combined with √'*aṭ*' to move. Literally it may mean "one who moves in assemblies".

7. *Śāmāḍhyā* (No. 31, L. 2) :
Śāmāḍhyā is a Prakritized form of the word 'Śyāmāḍhyā'. She was the daughter of Bhaṭṭibhava and the wife of the ferryman

Grahamittrapālita.

The first part śāma' is a contraction of Sanskrit '*Śyāma*'.[16] Literally the name may mean '*Śyāmena āḍhyā*', i.e., having a dark or swarthy complexion which in Sanskrit poetic tradition is considered a mark of beauty.[17]

CONCLUSION

We may review our discussion before we conclude as follows :

Names of the Gupta kings

Among the names of the Gupta kings 'Gupta' is an example of an abbreviated name. Chaṭotkaca, Chaṭotkacagupta, Pūrugupta and Vainyagupta are the Epic names. Budhagupta is a *nakṣatra-nāma* (name based on constellation). Bhānugupta is a name based on the Sun god.

Govindagupta, Narasiṁhgupta and Viṣṇugupta are Vaiṣṇavite names. Candragupta (I), Samudragupta, Candragupta (II), Kumāragupta (I), Skandagupta, Kumāragupta (II) and Kumāragupta (III) are Śaivite names. The names of Skandagupta and Kumāragupta exhibit the popularity of the war-god Skanda or Kārttikeya.[18]

The names Candragupta and Kumārgupta were repeated in the Gupta family which is against the Mahābhāṣya rule[19] that the first part of the name can be borrowed from one of the three male ancestors but the second part of the name should be different. It may be said that the repetition of the second part could not be avoided due to the tendency of the Guptas to add to their names the termination 'Gupta' which had almost become their family name.

Names of the Gupta queens

Among the names of the Gupta Queens Kumāradevī, Anantadevī, Candradevī, Śrīvatsadevī and Mitradevī were after gods. In Dattadevī, the name-ending termination 'datta' forms the first part of the name. The name Dhruvadevī or Dhruvasvāminī was based on *Dhruva* (polar star). This was against Smṛti injunctions. Manu says that a brāhmaṇa should not marry a maiden who bears the name of a constellation, tree or river, of a low caste, of a mountain, of a bird, snake

or slave, or of anything terrifying.[20] The names of women derived from the names of the *nakṣatras* are forbidden by the Dharmasūtras.[21]

Devī meaning goddess is the common termination in all the names except Dhruvasvāminī which ends in Svāminī meaning 'mistress'.

It is interesting to note that Kāmarūpa king Puṣyavarman's son Samudravarman was named after the Gupta king Samudragupta. Moreover, Samudravarman's queen took the same name as that of the queen of Samudragupta, i.e. Dattadevī.[22] Barua considers Samudravarman to be the contemporary of Candragupta II, Vikramāditya and the celebrated poet Kālidāsa.[23]

We also take into account the other feminine names which are as follows :

(i) Dāmasvāminī
(ii) Devakī
(iii) Harisvāminī
(iv) Padmāvatī
(v) Rāmī
(vi) Sābhāṭi
(vii) Śāmāḍhyā

In feminine names we notice the terminations svāminī and vatī. We find that the feminine names in our inscriptions generally end in '*ī*'.

Now we classify the names according to the deities they represent. Some names were used by more than one person and somehow seem to have been popular. As they appear in more than one inscription and for different individuals we have listed them separately.

Śaivite Names

1.	Acyutabhadra	2.	Śivakuṇḍa
3.	Ratibhadra	4.	Bhavanātha
5.	Kumārabhava	6.	Bhavarakṣita
7.	Rudrabhava	8.	Himaśarmman
9.	Śarvvadāsa	10.	Aparaśiva
11.	Bhavadatta	12.	Vasuśiva
13.	Guhaviṣṇu	14.	Jyeṣṭhadāma
15.	Kumāraviṣṇu	16.	Kumāradeva

17. Śarvvaviṣṇu
18. Svāmicandra
19. Somaviṣṇu
20. Śivanandin
21. Bhava
22. Somapāla
23. Boyila
24. Stambheśvardāsa
25. Guha
26. Gaṇapati
27. Śaṁkara
28. Gaṇapatināga
29. Dāmarudra
30. Candravarmman
31. Īśvaracandra
32. Rudradatta
33. Kumārabhūti
34. Rudradeva
35. Kumārayaśas
36. Ugrasena
37. Mahāsena
38. Acyutanandin
39. Sthāṇudatta
40. Bhīma
41. Mahāsenadatta
42. Bhimavarman
43. Śivaśarmman
44. Cirātadatta
45 Abhayamitra
46. Śikharaśvāmin
47. Bhadra
48. Candragupta
49. Bhaṭṭibhava
50. Śarvvanāga
51. Bhaṭṭisoma
52-53. Candragupta (I) and (II)
54. Guhanandin
55. Samudragupta
56. Kuśika
57. Rudrasoma
58-60. Kumāragupta (I), (II) and (III)
61. Skandagupta
62. Somila
63. Udi(tā)cāryya
64. Upamita
65. Kumāradevī
66. Sāmbapāla
67. Anantadevī
68. Skandapāla
69. Candradevī
70. Prabhucandra
71. Suraśmicandra
72. Rudradāsa
73. Śaśinandin
74. Sthāṇunandin

Vaiṣṇavite Names

1. Jayadatta
2. Hari-Śreṣṭhin
3. Kṛṣṇadatta
4. Śrīdatta
5. Harideva
6. Śrīdeva
7. Bhīma
8. Kṛṣṇamitra
9. Kṛṣṇadāsa
10. Śrīnātha
11. Gopadatta
12. Hariśarmman
13. Haridāsa
14. Jayasvāmin
15. Viṣṇudatta
16. Guhaviṣṇu

17. Dhṛtiviṣṇu	18. Jayaviṣṇu
19. Harisiṁha	20. Kīrttiviṣṇu
21. Gopāla	22. Kumāraviṣṇu
23. Śrībhadra	24. Śarvvaviṣṇu
25. Viṣṇubhadra	26. Somaviṣṇu
27. ...viṣṇu	28. Yaśoviṣṇu
29. Gopasvāmin	30. Hariṣeṇa
31. Śrībhadra	32. Acyutanandin
33 Acyuta	34. Dhanyaviṣṇu
35. Gopāla	36. Hariviṣṇu
37. Guha	38. Indraviṣṇu
39. Hari	40. Mātṛviṣṇu
41. Nābhaka	42. Varuṇaviṣṇu
43. Viśva	44. Viṣṇudāsa
45. Nandadāma	46. Viṣṇugopa
47. Śrībhadra	48. Goparāja
49. Viśvavarmman	50. Kurma(ā)ravyabhaṭṭa
51. Viṣṇupālitabhaṭṭa	52. Acyuta
53. Gopadevasvāmin	54. Mādhava
55. Jayabhaṭṭisvāmin	56. Hariṣeṇa
57. Devaviṣṇu	58. Gopasvāmin
59. Haritrāta	60. Hariṣeṇa
61. Devakī	62. Cakrapālita
63. Harisvāminī	64. Jayadatta
65. Padmāvatī	66. Acyutadāsa
67. Govindagupta	68. Viṣṇugupta
69. Anantadevī	70. Śrīvatsadevī
71. Narasiṁhagupta	

Names based on Skanda or Kārttikeya

1. Kumārabhava
2. Guhaviṣṇu
3. Kumāraviṣṇu
4. Kumāraviṣṇu
5. Kumārabhūti
6. Kumārayaśas
7. Mahāsena
8. Mahāsenadatta
9. Guhanandin

10. Skandapāla
11. Kumāradeva
12.-14. Kumāragupta (I), (II) and (III)
15. Skandagupta

Names based on Gaṇapati

1. Gaṇapati
2. Gaṇapatināga

Names based on Moon

1. Himaśarmman
2. Somaviṣṇu
3. Somila

In order to determine the prevalence of Śaivite names we may keep out of our consideration, names which are not directly based on Śiva but are based on auxiliary deities. Names based on god Moon are Bhaṭṭisoma, Īśvaracandra, Prabhucandra, Śaśinandin, Svāmicandra, Somapāla, Candravarmman, Candragupta (I) and (II), queen Candradevī and Suraśmicandra.

Names based on Lord Kṛṣṇa

1. Kṛṣṇadatta
2. Harideva
3. Kṛṣṇamitra
4. Hariśarmman
5. Gopāla
6. Hari
7. Nandadāma
8. Gopadevasvāmin
9. Haritrāta
10. Kṛṣṇa
11. Devakī
12. Harisvāminī
13. Hari-śreṣṭhin
14. Kṛṣṇadāsa
15. Gopadatta
16. Haridāsa
17. Harisiṁha

18. Gopāla
19. Gopasvāmin
20. Hariṣeṇa
21. Hariviṣṇu
22. Viṣṇugopa
23. Goparāja
24. Hariṣeṇa
25. Gopasvāmin
26. Hariṣeṇa
27. Govindagupta

Though Kṛṣṇa is an incarnation of Viṣṇu[24], for determining the currency of names based on Viṣṇu directly, we will not count names based on Kṛṣṇa.

Lord Rāma is believed to be the seventh incarnation of Viṣṇu. Rāma occurring in our inscriptions seems to have been Rāma Rāghava. The names based on Rāma are given below :

Names based on Rāma

1. Lakṣmaṇaśarmman
2. Rāmasvāmin
3. Rāghava
4. Rāmī
5. Lakṣmaṇa
6. Rāmadāsa
7. Rāma
8. Rāmaka
9. Rāmaśarmman

Other minor deities of the period which emerge out from an analysis of the proper names are as follows :

Names based on Nāga

1. Nāgadeva
2. Rājyanāga
3. Vīranāga
4. Sarppapālita
5. Ahiśarmman
6. Nāgaśarmman
7. Bhaṭanandin
8. Nāgadatta

9. Āmrakārddava
10. Nāgasena
11. Anantadevī

Names based on Indra

1. Puraṁdara
2. Jayanandin
3. Mahendragiri
4. Devarāja
5. Indraviṣṇu

Names based on Sun

1. Bhāskara
2. Ādityabandhu
3. Divākaranandin
4. Arkkadāsa
5. Ravila
6. Prabhākara
7. Devabhaṭṭāraka
8. Bhānugupta
9. Mitradevī

The only name based on Goddess Durgā is 'Durgādatta'.

The two names based on Mātṛ cult (seven Mātṛkas) follow :

1. Mātṛdāsa
2. Mātṛviṣṇu

There is only one name based on god Varuṇa (Sea-god), which is Varuṇaviṣṇu.

The names based on Nara form of God are Nārāyaṇadāsa, Naradeva and Nara-Nandin.

We find that both the Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite names are almost equal in number. If we delete the names of allied deities we get about 51 Śaivite names and 44 Vaiṣṇavite names. Thus Śaivite names seem to be more popular. An indication of the leaning of the Gupta kings towards Vaiṣṇavism is clear from the Garuḍa emblem of the Guptas.[25] The gupta monarchs also used the title 'Paramabhāgavata' i.e.; the devout devotee of Viṣṇu, in their imperial records. Majority of the names of Guptas show a preference for Śaivism. We know from the

Mathurā Pillar Inscription of the year 61 (No. 41) about the Lakulīśa sect of the Pāśupatas which was very popular at Mathurā. Kuśika one of the four main disciples of its founder Lakulīśa who is regarded as the last incarnation of Śiva finds mention in this record. Parāśara, Upamita, Kapila and Udita were the Pāśupata teachers, who flourished in the Gupta period. We know of the prevalence of the worship of goddess Durgā and Śiva's two sons, Kārttikeya and Gaṇeśa. There are two names based on Cupid (god of love) which are Ratibhadra and Māraviṣa. The popularity of Nāga worship in the Gupta period known from other sources is confirmed by an analysis of the names. Other categories of names are Buddhist and Jaina names which also indicate popularity of Hindu sects to some extent. They are as follows :

1. Abhayamitra
2. Guhanandin
3. Gośarmman
4. Jitasena
5. Dat(tt)ilācārya
6. Pārśva
7. Buddhamitra
8. Bhaṭṭibhava
9. Bhaṭṭisoma
10. Bhadra
11. Madra
12. Rudrasoma
13. Śaṁkara
14. Śāntideva
15. Sanasiddha
16. Somila
17. Buddha
18. Saṁghiladeva
19. Saṁghila

A large number of names discussed by us reveal an inclination towards Śaivism. Bühler had already proved from the date of the Sāñcī Stūpa Inscriptions that the worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva is older than Buddhism and Jainism. It can be guessed that the donors mentioned in the records or their ancestors adhered to these creeds before their conversion and that they

received their names in accordance with the established customs of their families.[26]

We also find some Epic and Puranic names which show the popularity of the Epics and the Purāṇas. The names are :

1. Ghaṭotkaca
2. Ghaṭotkacagupta
3. Pūrugupta
4. Vainyagupta
5. Pārtha
6. Pṛthu
7. Vyāsa
8. Yudhiṣṭhira
9. Bhīma
10. Dhanañjaya
11. Sagara
12. Parāśara

Another considerable group of proper names is derived from the names of Nakṣatras. This shows that the rule in the Gṛhyasūtras recommending the use of Nakṣatra names, was obeyed. These names are as follows :

1. Puṣyamitra
2. Dhruvaśarman
3. Dhruvadevī, Dhruvasvāminī (against the rules in case of women)
4. Budhagupta

Madra and Khāsaka are the two names which may be termed as tribal names, presumably pointing to the tribes to which they belonged.

Names based on colour are (1) Kālaka, (2) Kapila, (3) Piṅgala and (4) Nīlarāja.

The names based on animals are Siṁhaha(da)tta, Siṁhanandin, Gaṇḍa, Śarabharāja, Vyāghrarāja, Hastivarmman, Chagalaga and Śaṇḍaka.

The names based on abstract qualities are : (1) Bhadradeva Kāmanakuṇḍa, Rūpaśarmman, Suśarmman, Bandhumitra, Amṛtadeva, Śāmāḍhyā, Ribhupāla, Dhṛtimitra, Matidatta, Kṣemadatta, Balavarmman, Dhruvabhūti, Matila, and Vīrasena. We can also classify the names into two categories, Sanskrit and non-Sanskrit or Prakrit names. A few of the second group

may be enumerated here :

1. Piccakuṇḍa
2. Prabhamitra
3. Kaṅkuṭi
4. Bonda
5. Vailinaka
6. Karppaṭika
7. Riśidatta
8. Rāmī
9. Ḍuḍika
10. Līḍhaka

The names of brāhmaṇas occurring in our inscriptions sometimes end in a non-brāhmaṇic cognomen such as Bhaṭṭa, Datta and Kuṇḍa, etc., which are available in the inscriptions of Bengal. Surnames like Datta, Dāma, Pālita, Pāla, Kuṇḍa (Kuṇḍu), Dāsa, Nāga and Nandin are now confined to Kāyasthas of Bengal but not to brāhmaṇas. Bhandarkar[27] has pointed out that identical surnames are used by the Nāgara-brāhmaṇas. It cannot be said definitely whether the name-endings in dāman occurring in the names of several Śaka satraps portraying Iranian influence[28] have any relationship with the name-ending '*dāman*' found in our records.

Noticing brāhmaṇic names with a large number of modern Bengali Kāyastha cognomens in several early epigraphs discovered in Bengal, some scholars have suggested that there is a considerable brāhmaṇa element in the present day Kāyastha community of Bengal. Originally the professions of Kāyastha (scribe) and Vaidya (physician) were not restricted and could be followed by people of different *Varṇas* including the brāhmaṇas. So there is every probability that a number of brāhmaṇa families were mixed up with members of other Varṇas in forming the present Kāyastha and Vaidya communities of Bengal.[29]

Kāyasthas frequently figure in our inscriptions usually as professional writers. The office of Kāyastha (scribe) seems to have been instituted before the beginning of Gupta period. It seems likely that they had not developed into a caste during our period "This may account for the non-reference to them as a caste in the contemporary Smṛtis".[30] Majumdar[31] says

that the Gupta emperors were vaiśyas but this is wrong, as we have shown that they were certainly non-vaiśyas.

Professions were not determined rigidly according to caste. We find in our records that some brāhmaṇas followed non-brāhmaṇical professions. Likewise some kṣatriyas followed non-kṣatriya professions. We find in the Eran Stone Pillar Inscription of Budhagupta, of the year 165 (No. 18) that Mātṛviṣṇu, a brāhmaṇa, was a feudatory of the Guptas in Central India. Indraviṣṇu, and Varuṇaviṣṇu the great grand-father and grand-father respectively of the donor are described as pious brāhmaṇas who were engaged in spiritual and religious pursuits. In the Inscription the heroic and victorious character of Mātṛviṣṇu is stated. From the Indor Copper Plate Inscription of Skandagupta of the year 146 (No. 16), we come to know that two kṣatriyas Acalavarman and Bhrukuṇṭhasiṁha were merchants of the town of Indrapura in U.P.

REFERENCES

1. **Vg.** part I, p. 351.
2. Amarakośa, 2.9.73, p. 331.
3. **Fz.** p. 1284, see *Svāmin* and *Svāminī.*
4. Cf. **Uy.** 3/4 p. 146.
   'A daughter is called '*Duhitā*' as she milks the cow.
5. No. 13. V. 6.
6. **Hz.** p. 323, note 2.
7. See **Fz.** p. 495, col. 2-3.
8. Ibid., col. 3.
9. **(Dx)**[1] p. 261.
10. **Fz.** p. 585, col. 1
11. Ibid., p. 877, col. 1
12. Ibid., p. 878, col. 3.
13. Supra, See Devakī
14. S.K. Chatterji, **Hg.** Part, II, p. 695 :
    "*Rāmī* (< *Rāma*), *ś(y)āmī* (< *Śyāma*), *Bāmī* (*Vāmā, Vāmī*).
15. **Fz.** p. 1204, col. 2.
16. S.K. Chatterji, **Hg.** Part II, p. 695 :
    ś(y)āmī (< *Śyāma*).
17. **Fz.** 1094, col. 2.
18. Cf. H.D. Sankalia, **Pz.** p. 107.
19. **JJ.** XIV, p. 242 (Mahābhāṣya, ed. by Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 4).
20. Manu-smṛti, III. 8-9.
21. Vārāha-Gṛhya-sūtra, III, 1-3 : **JJ.** XIV, p. 233 : Cf. Pargiter, **M.** pp. 134-6.

22. K.L. Barua, **Zz.** p. 41.
23. Ibid., p. 43.
24. **Fz.** p. 877, col. 2.
25. No. 1, L. 24.
26. Cf. **GJ.** II, p. 95, p. 366 ff.
27. **GJ.** 19, p. 246.
28. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, **Mg.** pp. 13, 77-78.
29. **JJ.**19, pp. 17-18.
30. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg.** p. 345.
31. Ibid., p. 344.

22. K.L. Barua, Za. p. 41.
23. Ibid., p. 43.
24. Tz. p. 377, col. 2.
25. No. 10, l. 24.
26. cf. GI. II, p. 95, p. 366 ff.
27. GI. 19, p. 246.
28. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, Mg. pp. 13, 77-78.
29. JJ.19, pp. 17-18.
30. R.C. Majumdar, Pg. p. 345.
31. Ibid. p. 344.

PART TWO

NAMES OF THE TRIBES

Prologue

Tribal Names occurring in our records make it clear that they represented a heterogeneous stock of people in Indian society and that ethnic or geographical factors predominated. The locality or country was generally known by the plural of the tribal name. The original name of the tribe whether ethnic or territorial may be hypothetical since it is difficult to determine exactly whether the place gave the name to the tribe or the tribe to the place. We find many examples where the tribes gave their names to the places after they were known by some ethnic or tribal appellations. For example, we know that Videha obtained its name from the settlement of the Videgha tribe who were lead by their king Māthava when they pushed forward to the east from the Sarasvatī[1] and that Pāñcāla denoted the country or kingdom which the Kṣatriya tribe Pañcāla occupied.[2] With a definite territory of their own, they lost their tribal character and assumed the functions of the ruler. The names of the janapadas thus given continued even if the tribe migrated somewhere else; rather it gave the names to the janapadas wherever it settled. Thus we know the divisions of the Mālavas, Yaudheyas, the Kurus and the Madras.

These tribes went through various vicissitudes due to the growth of big imperial states viz. of the Mauryas and the Guptas, and foreigns invasions from the north-west. They had replaced old Vedic tribes in many places and flourished during the period from 6th century B.C. to A.D. 4th-5th century. Though Altekar[3] has pointed out that they flourished only in north-western and north-eastern zone and conspicuously absented themselves in the south, we find the evidence of self-governing people, though scanty, in South India as well. The Rock Edict XIII refers to some territories

in the south which are mentioned as a people and not as kingdoms.[4] Not only that the Satiyaputras and the Keralaputras are also mentioned in the Second Rock Edict of Aśoka.[5]

We find some tribes known probably after proper names viz., the Yaudheyas and Ārjunāyanas as well as the proper names used after the tribes.[6] We also know of Madra as a personal name in our records. K.P. Jayaswal has pointed out that the śūdra republic is evidently the same whom Alexander met in lower Sind and whom 'we have identified with the brahminical Śaudras or Śaudrāyaṇas of the Gaṇapāṭha'. On grammar it is based on the proper name (of a man) śūdra, not the caste-name.[7]

The tribes did not live in isolation and interacted with society. The bond that held so heterogeneous a society together, made it a society rather than a set of tribes, was not so much common ritual and common language but as a whole it was an aggregate of common needs satisfied by reciprocal exchange.

The indigenous tribes based on caste and family founded the republican kingdoms. They worked singularly or formed confederations to save themselves from foreign aggressions. The republics had emerged from the Vedic tribes and retained much more tribal tradition than did the monarchies. In the transition from tribe to republic they lost the essential democratic pattern of the tribe but retained the idea of government through an assembly representing the tribe.[8] Tribal organization was based on a smaller geographical area and permitted the functioning of a popular government more effectively.[9]

The words Saṁgha and Gaṇa have been synonymously used for these republics. Pāṇini makes frequent use of the word Saṁgha in his Aṣṭādhyāyī. It seems later the word Saṁgha became representative of the Buddhist order and hence the use of the term was dropped for a republic and only the word 'Gaṇa' was retained for the purpose.[10]

The Āyudhajīvin republics of Pāṇini had become *Vārtāśāstropajīvins* by the time of Kauṭilya, probably they had taken to agriculture and industry side by side with their common profession of military art. They are enumerated by Kauṭilya as the Kambojas, the Surāṣṭras, the Kṣatriyas, the Śreṇis, and 'others'.[11] The other class of republics bore the

title Rājan or king, are as follows : The Licchavikas, the Vṛjikas, the Mallakas, the Madrakas, the Kukuras, the Kurus, the Pāñcālas, and 'others'.[12] Basham opines that the Arthaśāstra refers ironically to the martial arrogance and practical ineptitude of the republics when it mentions the members of the seven named tribes "making a living by the title of *rājā*".[13]

We do not agree with Basham since we know from a passage in the later Vedic literature that the Uttarakurus and the Uttaramadras were kingless (*vairājya*) states, where people, the heads of founder families, were consecrated for the rulership.[14] Kauṭilya has also placed the Madrakas and the Kurus along with the Licchavis. We can compare them with the Licchavis whose 7,707 members, probably the descendants of the founder members of the privileged aristocracy, who were all entitled to the honorific title *rājā*.[15] At a certain time while dealing with the history of republican tribes in India some extravagant claims were made by some scholars like K.P. Jayaswal who wrote under nationalistic predilections to prove that not only a constitutional form of Government, but the entire parliamentary system, including Address to the Throne and Voting of grants, was prevalent in India and that responsible Government, with all that it implies in the West, existed in ancient India with its full paraphernalia.[16]

It may be mentioned that these republics were not democracies in the modern sense of the term where franchise is vested in as large a number of citizens as possible. We find that some of them had mixed constitutions, while others were transforming themselves to monarchy. Some of them may even be termed as oligarchies. We can call them Kṣatriya aristocracies where the power was vested in the hands of consecrated Kṣatriyas (*Mūrdhābhiṣikta*).

Pāṇini[17] distinguishes between the Mālavas or Kṣudrakas and the Mālavyas and Kṣudrakyas respectively. The former denoted the Kṣatriya and brāhmaṇa aristocracy while the latter the common folk. Similarly the Amarakośa distinguishes between the *Rājanayaka gaṇa* and the *rājaka-gaṇa*. In the former the power was vested in the descendants of the original founder families enjoying the title of the *rājā*; whereas in the case of latter it was vested in all the Kṣatriya families whether

descended from the original founders or not.[18]

But the *Gaṇa* indicated a certain type of state, sharply distinguished from monarchy, is proved by a reference from the Avadānaśataka where it is narrated that when some merchants from Madhyadeśa, travelling in the Deccan, were asked by a local ruler as to who the kings were in their respective homelands, they replied, 'Sir, in the countries of some of us there are kings but in those of others, there is gaṇa or republican government'.[19] That gaṇa had a definite constitutional meaning is also supported by the evidence from the Jain literature, the coin-legends of the Yaudheyas, Mālavas and Ārjunāyanas as well as by the writings of the contemporary Greek writers.[20]

It may be admitted that the ancient Indian republics were regular states and not mere territories marked for different tribes. They had crossed the tribal stage and had adopted the monarchical system or were transforming themselves to republicanism or had mixed constitutions. They were small territorial units. They issued their own coins and the coin-legends in Sanskrit. It proves beyond doubt that they got Aryanized. They had weak economy and followed their copper or silver coinage rather than the gold currency system which had its start with Kaniṣka in Northern India. In the time of distress or as a friendly gesture, they worked as auxiliary armies to the kings. Though at times tributary to the great kingdoms, they exercised internal autonomy.

Even when they migrated to other lands, it is not necessary that the whole population migrated, a majority of them might have succumbed to the onslaughts of the invader or got merged with the dominant tribe.

Tribes

After having said a word about the Gaṇa state which some of the following tribes represented, we shall now make a discussion on the names of the tribes occurring in our records :

1. *Ābhīra* (No. 1, L. 22) :

They were one of the tribes subdued by Samudragupta. Ābhīras lived to the north of the Rajaputana desert. We may also think of Abiravan between Herat and Kandahar which may have been the original home of the Ābhīras. In the 3rd century A.D. there was an Ābhīra kingdom in the north-western Deccan.[21] D.C. Sircar[22] describes Ābhīra in singular as a member of the Cowherd Community. The tribe can still be traced in the present Ahīras,[23] who in tribal groups, abound largely in the Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Nepal and some portions of Rajasthan. They are a band of simple, sturdy people, mostly cowherds and agriculturists.[24] This tribe[25] is thought to have played a big part in the propagation of the worship of Kṛṣṇa Govinda[26] in his pastoral aspect.

The Mahābhārata[27] places the Ābhīras in West Rajasthan 'where the Sarasvatī disappears'.

In the first and second centuries A.D. they are located in the country between the lower Sindhu valley and Kathiawar, as is indicated in the 'Periplus' and in the Geography of Ptolemy.[28] The Periplus calls their country Abiria. Ābhīra generals served in the armies of Śaka Kṣatraps of Western India in the second century A.D. as is known from their inscriptions.[29] They are also mentioned in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali[30] in association with the Śūdras, the Sodrai of Alexander's time, who lived in northern Sind. Throughout the third century A.D. the Ābhīras exercised ruling power in northern Konkan and Mahārāshtra.[31] Vātsyāyana[32] refers to the Harem of the Ābhīra kings. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa[33]

and the Vāyu Purāṇa[34] refer to them as 'Dakṣiṇāpatha-vāsinaḥ' or dwelling in the Southern Country. The Bṛhat-saṁhitā[35] mentions them as being under the jurisdiction of Śani (Saturn).

The Jodhpur Inscription of Saṁvat 918, records that the Ābhīra people of this area were a terror to their neighbours, because of their violent demeanour.[36] The Ābhīra robbers are also mentioned in the Skanda Purāṇa.[37] Epigraphic evidence indicates the existence of an Ābhīra kingdom in the 14th Century in Khandesh.[38]

In the Sāhitya Darpaṇa of Viśvanātha,[39] it is stated that Ābhīrī is the language of the Ābhīras and Cāṇḍālī of the Caṇḍālas. Those who do woodwork can speak Ābhīrī or Śābarī, either of the two. Daṇḍin asserts that the speeches of the Ābhīras, etc., are termed as Apabhraṁśa in the Kāvya[40] on the basis of which probably Keith writes : "the Prakrit lyrics passed into Apabhraṁśa as a result of the activities of the Ābhīras and the Gurjaras.[41] We know from the Amarakośa[42] that 'Ābhīrī' was used to denote 'Ābhīra woman or the wife of a cowherd'.

The Amarakośa[43] mentions Gopa, Gopāla, Gosaṁkhya, Godhuk and Ballava as the synonyms for Ābhīra and says that the village or place where Ābhīras lived is named as Ghoṣa or Ābhīrapallī.[44]

In the Kashmirian recension of the Mahābhārata we get the readings 'Kābhīra' and 'Kabhīra' in place of Ābhīra.[45] These Kashmirian forms may have resulted from an attempt to record an initial glottal opening in the language of the Ābhīras. The Kasmiras probably knew the Ābhīras at an early date.[46]

Bhattacharya[47] describes the Ābhīrs or Ahīrs as a cowherd caste exceeding 8,000,000, and found almost everywhere in India north of the Narmadā. The Ābhīras are mentioned as foreigners in the Purāṇas.[48] Their kings were regarded as vrātya and mostly śūdras (black).[49] In the Mahābhārata the Ābhīras are called Mleccha.[50] According to Manu[51] they were the sons of a brāhmaṇa man and an ambaṣṭha woman, the Ambaṣṭhas being of mixed origin and known as the Ānava kṣatriyas.[52] The Bṛhatsaṁhitā[53] places the Ābhīras in the

Southern quarter of India.

Shafer[54] considers them to be an admixture possibly of white Iranian blood with enough Bhil blood to give them a a very dark colour and concludes that they were western Ānavas.[55]

2. *Ārjunāyanas* (No. 1, L. 22) :
One of the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta.

The name Ārjuneya is mentioned in the Ṛgveda as the patronymic of Kautsa.[56] The tribe, associated with the name of Arjuna, existed in the Punjab and the North-West up to the advent of Gupta power in the fourth century A.D.[57] The word Arjuna in the Vedic literature[58] denotes 'white' and 'white leprosy' and is also an epithet of Indra. But it does not denote a tribe or a human hero.

The word Arjuna has an unmistakable resemblance with the Śaka word erzuna, meaning a 'leader' or 'chief' which is derived from arzi. Analogous to it are the Śaka words *aljsā*, meaning 'silvery' and *āljsata*, meaning 'silver', that are akin to the Avestan word *erezata* (silver), the Sanskrit word *rajata* (silver) and the Persian word *arziz* (tin).[59] All these words have the original sense of whiteness and brightness, that are also connoted by the word arjuna in Sanskrit. It is highly significant that Arjuna, the hero of the Mahābhārata, is said to have borne this name, because he was 'white' and 'pure' in action.[60] All over the Eurasian steppes the nobles were regarded as 'white' and the commoners were considered 'black'. Hence the word for white colour was employed to denote the idea of leadership. This is why *erzuna* was used in the sense of a 'leader' in Śaka languages.[61]

Vedic and Śaka both branched from the same parent Indo-European language. Hence many words were common to both. But whereas arjuna in Vedic lost its pristine sense and was only used as an adjective, signifying 'whiteness', in Śaka it meant a 'tribe' and a human hero and later on this sense was imparted to this word in India as a result of the impact of the Śakas.[62]

The tribe, bearing the name of Arjuna, was also connected with some people of Chinese Turkestan, whose heroes, and kings had this designation.[63] In the Uighur redaction of the

Hiḍimbāvadha[64] the name of Arjuna occurs in the form of Arcuni.[65] According to Sylvain Levi, this episode of the Mahābhārata owed the privilege of entering into the Turkish world to the presence of the name of Arjuna in it, who was regarded as the eponymous founder of the dynasties of some Central Asiatic oases-states.[66]

Pāṇini[67] refers to the worshipper of Arjuna, called Arjunaka, together with the devotee of Vasudeva, called Vāsudevaka. This remark implies that Arjuna was treated as a deity at the time of Pāṇini and his followers occupied a prominent position.[68] The Kāśikā replaces Auddālakāyana of Patañjali by Ārjunāyana,[69] the name of a tribe nearer to its own time in discussing the meaning of Prācya-bhārata (II.4.66).

From the accounts relating to the invasion of India by Alexander we learn that a tribe named *Agalassoi* (Arjunāyana) fought with Alexander.[70]

The Bṛhat-saṁhitā[71] places the Ārjunāyana in the northern division of India and describes them as being in the region of Bṛhaspati.[72]

Ptolemy refers to a people in the Punjab whom he calls *Pandoouoi*[73]=Pāṇḍavas with whom the Ārjunāyanas may be connected.[74] Ārjunāyana coins are found in the Mathurā region and 'they may be assigned with probability to the region lying west of Agra and Mathura, equivalent, roughly speaking, to the Bharatpur and Alwar States'.[75]

3. *Āṭavika-rāja* (No. 1, L.21) :

It is stated in the inscription that Samudragupta made all the kings of the forest countries his servants.[76] A mention of the forest kingdoms has also been made in Khoh Copper plate inscription of Saṁkshobha Gupta year 209.[77] These 18 forest kingdoms were apparently in Central India including Ḍāhala or the Jabalpur region.[78] We find a reference to the same in the Kanas plate of Lokavigraha.[79] The Vāyu and Matsya Purāṇas (XLV, 126 and CXIII, 48) read Āṭavyas which is no doubt the correct reading. Āṭavī as a city of the Deccan is mentioned in the Mahābhārata.[80] The Āṭavyas were certainly the same as the Āṭavikas of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription and were perhaps aboriginal tribes dwelling in the jungle tracts of Central India.[81] We find

a reference to the Āṭavikas or the forest savages in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and it was an Arthaśāstra practice to hire the Āṭavikas as scouts and army auxiliaries,[82] which needs must influence their future advance to civilization. Āṭavika-rāja should be translated as 'forest-kings' or 'kings of forest countries'. We get a reference to Jāṅgalas in the Puranic List of Peoples.[83] Similar terms *'vana-rāṣṭra'* 'forest-countries' and *vana-rājya* 'forest-kingdoms' also occur in the Bṛhat-Saṁhitā.[84] But these countries lay in the north-east division of India, as mapped out by Varāhamihira, and they are, at any rate, not the countries referred here.[85]

In the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata, in one line of Sahadeva's *digvijaya*, Professor Franklin Edgerton changes *Āṭavī* to *Antākhi*, so that the line will refer to Antioch, Rome and the Greeks. Antioch, Rome and Greece were intimately associated in history and consequently they are still associated in the minds of Western scholars, and hence *Antākhi* made more sense to Edgerton in connection with Rome and the Greeks than *Āṭavī*. But it only represents his personal opinion.[86]

4. *Daivaputra*[87] (No. 1, L. 23) :
Daivaputras along with Ṣāhis, Ṣāhānuṣāhis, Śakas and Muruṇḍas are mentioned to have paid homage to Samudragupta by rendering to him all kinds of service.

The word 'Daivaputra' denotes those 'who belong to *devaputra*', i.e., Kaniṣka, i.e., the Kuṣāṇa ruler. The title devaputra has frequently been used as a title by the Kuṣāṇa kings.[88]

The common belief is that the designation *devaputra* 'god-son' was copied by the Kuṣāṇas from the ancient Chinese imperial title, 'T'ien-tzu', 'son of heaven'.[89] Thomas considers that this title used by the Kuṣāṇas must have been borrowed from the Hsiung-nu (a Central Asian Tribe) and not directly from the Chinese.[90] Narain also believes the title to have been borrowed by the Kuṣāṇas from Central Asia.[91] The title has been frequently used by the kings in the Kharoṣṭhī documents discovered from Chinese Turkestan.[92] As regards the origin of the title, the divinity of the kings has been stressed upon in many ancient empires.[93] The ancient Indian concept for 'Deva-

putra'[94] meaning 'god-son' is slightly different. It was not used for worldly kings but specifically for a class of distinguished divinites, which in Indian Buddhist texts was specifically used for four regional 'great kings', i.e., regents of four quarters, East, West, North and South who were 'sons of heaven'. In the later Kuṣāṇa times, the term seems to have denoted the sense of Royal insignia.[95] In a Buddhist text of this period the question is raised 'why kings are called *devaputra*' and the answer is that before being born as a man, he was abiding among the gods (devas) and that, because the thirty-three gods (each) contributed to his substance, therefore, he is 'god-son'.[96]

That Daivaputra denotes the Kuṣāṇas is obvious, since, no other Indian king is known to have been styled 'devaputra'. Though Indian kings were usually addressed as 'Deva', we do not find any evidence of an Indian king referring to himself as *deva*. The Kuṣāṇas did not adopt *devaputra* as an official title in early times. It is totally absent from their coins, its reading on one coin of Kujula Kara Kaphsa being an error which has been noticed by Thomas after re-examining the coin in consultation with Allan.[97] Kaniṣka has not used the title even in Peshawar Casket Inscriptions which were officially engraved. It is only in documents inscribed by Indians that the title '*devaputra*' is used for the Kuṣāṇa kings.[98] The title is used for the first time for Kaniṣka (known as Candana Kaniṣka).[99] *Mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra* Kuṣāṇa of the Taxila Silver Scroll Inscription is generally taken to refer to Kaniṣka.[100] As rightly observed by Thomas "the devaputrasa of the scroll inscription is the first known instance of the application to the Kuṣāṇas of the designation devaputra, which regularly, though not invariably, recurs with Kaniṣka and his successors."[101]

Thus we do not find the title Devaputra being used by the Kuṣāṇa rulers themselves but was applied to them by the Indians. Why of all ruling dynasties only the Kuṣāṇas were designated as 'Devaputras' is really inexplicable. Thomas suggests two possibilities. It may be due to the fact that the Indians saw some similarity between the figures of the grand Yakṣa and those of the burly Kusāṇa kings and the superior title of 'Devaputra' may have appeared to be a suitable appel-

lation. Another possibility is that they found some similarity between the Kuṣāṇa kings and Kubera (described in India as regent of the north and god of wealth and known as Devaputra in ancient Indian concept of Devaputra which simply means god-son), especially in view of the lavish gold coinage of the Kuṣāṇas. Aśvaghoṣa refers to the 'great king Kanika' as 'guardian of the northern heaven'.[102] It is also likely that the title devaputra may have been given due to Śiva-maheśvara, whom we have seen styled as Devaputra and who is the sole deity figured on the coins of Wima Kadphises.[103] These facts need further investigation.

Most probably from the Epic Period, Indian concept of Devaputra 'god-son' is linked with kings to give them divinity and not as a title.[104] Aśoka could claim the title only of '*Devānām priya*'[105] meaning 'the beloved of the gods'. Thus *Devaputra* or 'god-son' was a superior title given to the Kuṣāṇas by Indians. It is interesting to note that the epithet *Devaputravat* has been used for Buddha in one of our inscriptions [106]

5. *Hūṇa* (No. 13, L. 15) :

They are mentioned in the Bhītarī Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta in which Skandagupta (A.D. 455—467) is stated to have inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Hūṇas : "By whose (Skandagupta's) two arms the earth was shaken, when he, the creator (of a disturbance like that) of a terrible whirlpool, joined in close conflict with the Hūṇas....".[107] The defeat inflated upon the Hūṇas proved so decisive that for nearly half a century the Gupta empire was immune from their depredations.[108]

Hūṇas, also known as Ephthalites or Hiung-nu were a Central Asian tribe.

Uigur[109] transcribes the name of the tribe in ancient Chinese in two phonetic forms: one of which is 'xūnu or xunu', the other '*xunux, xunuo, xunu*'. The first part (*xun*—) of the last form is not in doubt and neither is the *u* of the last part, the only question is about the change of the initial *i* of ancient Chinese into *y* in Uigur before *u* and in Sandhi, and about the pronunciation of the final consonant.[110]

The first of the above Chinese forms which comes as close to the *Hunu* as to the Sanskrit *Hūṇa* is very similar to the

Chinese "transcription" *Xunu* or *Xūnu*, and Avesta *Hunu*, except the Sanskrit has substituted for the final root vowel '*u*' the stem final—a characteristic of the names of peoples in that language. "The Purāṇas have a form *Urṇa* which together with Epic Skr. *Hūṇa* suggests Indic Hūrṇa Turk, *Xūrnu*".[111]

We may note here the Tibetan *Hor*, which corresponds with the first syllable of the reconstructed form *Hūr-ṇa*. The difference of vowels may indicate a back dipthong or back vowel between *o* and *u*, as Ptolemy's Xoūnoi suggests, since the Greeks wrote *u* (*y*) for Indic *u*.[112]

Though all the above forms go back to one primitive form, we cannot say the same for the people to whom they were applied. The general opinion is that the Hsiung-nus, Huns, Hūṇas etc., were Turks. Some scholars consider them to have been a mixture of many tribes, Iranians, Mongols, and Paleosibirians (ancestors of the Yenissei-ostyaks). Whatever may have been the dominant race or speech was, it can be seen that there must have been several subject people and subject armies in such far-flung empires, necessitating some mixture and mutual influence—ethnic, linguistic and cultural.[113] Otto Maenchen-Helfen has discussed the whole question on the basis of the evidence of language, history, ethnology, and archaeology[114] and has pointed out that the greater part of the Hsiung-nu vocabulary pointed to Mongol[115] Later Pelliot considered the same vocabulary and established that the *Hsiung*-nu and *Huns* were Turks.[116]

Louis Bazin[117] and Von Gabain[118] also reached the conclusion that in language of the *Hsiung-nu* there was a high percentage of Turkish words.[119]

In the second century B.C. the *Hiung-nu* (*Huns*) started a movement near the Chinese frontier and succeeded in destroying the Greco-Bactrian empire, in strongly menacing the existence of the house of Arsakes, and in landing crowds of Central Asian invaders within the borders of India. In the latter half of the fourth century A.D., a branch of them, the White Huns, or Ephthalites, flooded the South of Asia; and 'about the time when the last legions of Rome shattered on the plains of Chalons, the motley hordes of Attila, the White Huns had begun to tread Sassanian Persia under the hoofs of their

horses, and were soon to smash the Indian empire of the Guptas into pieces'.[120]

In A.D. 484 the Hūṇas killed the Sassanian ruler of Persia. Towards the close of the fifth century A.D. they ruled over a vast empire with their principal capital at Balkh.[121] We know of a *Hūṇa-deśa* placed to the South of the Kāma-giri and to the North of Maru-deśa, i.e., the desert called the land of heroes. The Harṣacarita places the Hūṇa country in the Punjab region practically suggesting the same area.[122]

In the middle of the sixth century A.D., the Sassanian king of Persia made an alliance with Western Turks against the Hūṇas and smashed their rule from the Oxus by killing their king sometime between A.D. 563 and 567.[123]

We know of Toramāṇa from his Eraṇ Boar Inscription[124] and of Mihirakula from his Gwalior Inscription.[125] These two are generally taken to have been Hūṇa chiefs. There is another inscription found at Kura (Salt range in the Punjab) refering to *Rājādhirāja Mahārāja* Toramāṇa-Ṣāhi-Jau (bla), whom some scholars identify with king Toramāṇa mentioned in the Eraṇ Inscription,[126] but others regard the two as quite different.[127] Here it must be pointed out, none of these inscriptions describes any of these kings as Hūṇas nor contains any reference to the Hūṇas.

We find an interesting account of Toramāṇa in the Jain work, Kuvalayamālā, composed to 700 Śaka (A.D.778).[128] Here Toramāṇa is stated to have lived on the bank of the Candrabhāgā (Chenab river). His guru Hari-gupta, who himself was a scion of the Gupta family, also lived there.[129]

Both Toramāṇa and Mihirakula are referred to in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, but there is no mention of their being the Hūṇas.

It is doubtful whether Toramāṇa and Mihirakula were Hūṇas or Kuṣāṇas. Sir Aurel Stein, Jayaswal[130] and Fleet[131] held that Toramāṇa was a Kuṣāṇa. But Sten Konow[132] holds that Toramāṇa was, in all probability, a Hūṇa, as is generally assumed, and not a Kuṣāṇa. It is not unlikely that the Hūṇas and the Kuṣāṇas were ethnically allied and were later merged into a new nation, which came to be known as Hūṇa in India.[133]

There are several stray references to the Hūṇas in Indian literature. D.C. Sircar[134] opines that the Indian names *Hūṇa*,

Hārahūṇa or *Hārahūra*, supposed to be associated with the Chinese name *Hiung-nu* and 'the White Hun' of the European writers, are mentioned in a few late passages of the Mahābhārata and in the geographical sections of the early Purāṇas, can be roughly assigned to the 4th century A.D. A sūtra-vṛtti in the Candra Vyākaraṇa has the sentence '*ajayad-gupta* (or Japto or Jarto) *Hūṇān*' as an illustration of the use of the imperfect to express an event which occurred within the life-time of the author.[135]

In the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman[136] a reference is made to the chiefs of the Hūṇas, but they are not named. The inscription simply says that Yaśodharman possessed countries which not even the Guptas and the chiefs of the Hūṇas could subdue.[137]

The inscription also refers to Mihirakula "who had earlier bowed only to the god Sthāṇu (Śiva) and whose forehead was pained through being bent low down by the strength of the arm of Yaśodharman in the act of compelling obeisance".[138]

With the fall of Yaśodharman, which probably took place not long after, Mihirakula again came to the forefront. In the early part of the sixth century A.D. Śākala become his capital.[139] The Gupta king who then occupied the imperial throne was probably Narasiṁha-Gupta Bālāditya. He was temporarily overwhelmed by the victorious raids of Yaśodharman, and Mihirakula evidently took advantage of this imperial crisis to extend his power. Narasiṁhagupta, according to Hiuen Tsang, was forced to the humiliating position of paying tribute to Mihirakula but finally triumphed over his rival.[140]

The defeat of Mihirakula appears to have finally crushed the political supremacy of the Hūṇas in India who ceased to be even a disturbing element in Indian History.[141] The Purāṇas place the Hūṇas in the extreme west, with the Sauvīras, Saindhavas, Śākalas and Madras.[142]

In the Raghuvaṁśa, Kālidāsa mentions Raghu defeating the Hūṇas on the banks of the Vaṅkṣu or the Oxus[143], the (pale) faces of whose wives spoke of the bravery of their husbands (who died in the battle).[144]

Varāhamihira[145] mentions them under the jurisdiction of Ketu and places them in the North.[146] Dr. Upendra Thakur[147]

remarks that about the sixth century A.D., the Hūṇas almost lost their original name of *Hiong-nou* or *Huns*. Later the powerful Turks give its name to the entire Hūṇa nation by which they were further known in the neighbouring nations. Afterwards they were submerged in the Mongols under the influence of the powerful Mongol Chief Chengiz Khan. Thus, the *Hiong-nou* or *Huns* received different names in different periods beginning with their origin to their advancement in other countries. In spite of the copious references to the Ephthalites in the accounts of the different countries, it is very difficult to determine their exact origin and ethnic affinities.

We can partly agree with Dr. Thakur as regards their merger in the area later dominated by the Turks and Mongols but the Hūṇas find their mention in the Harṣa-Carita of Bāṇa (a seventh century work) and they remained a potent force in the social and political life of the Punjab-Rajasthan-Malwa-Gujarat region during the early medieval period as evidenced by a large number of epigraphical and literary records, and also proved themselves as a source of danger to the Pāla kings of Bengal [148]

6. *Kākas* (No. 1, L. 22):

One of the tribes who paid homage to Samudragupta. The Kākas are mentioned in the Mahābhārata[149] and are associated with the Vidarbhas, a well-known people occupying tracts of territory in modern Madhya Pradesh.[150] V.A. Smith connects them with Kākanāda near Sāñcī;[151] while the Bombay Gazetteer identifies them with Kākupur near Bithur.[152] They may have been neighbours of the Sanakānīkas.[153]

7. *Kharaparikas* (No. 1, L. 22) :

One of the tribes who were subjugated by Samudragupta.

D. R. Bhandarkar[154] takes them to be the Kharparas mentioned in the Batihagadh Inscription[155] of the Damoh district of M.P. Kharpara[156] means a thief, a rogue or a cheat. The name Kharaparika does not occur elsewhere in inscriptions or literature. The Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa[157] mentions a tribe called Khara-sāgara-rāśīs,[158] along with the Gandharas and the Yaudheyas; and the Matsya Purāṇa[159] refers to a country named Kharapatha, watered by the river Nalinī. It is difficult to say whether Khara-sāgara-rāśī and Kharapatha

had anything to do with the Kharaparikas.[160] K.P. Jayaswal expresses the probability of the identification of the Kharaparikas with the five Karpaṭas of the Mahābhārata.[161]

8. *Kotas* (No. 1, L. 14) :

The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta mentions Samudragupta's capturing a king born in the family of the Kotas.[162] Mookerji equates the Kota-kulaja of the inscription with king Kalyāṇavarman of the play 'Kaumudī-Mahotsava'.[163] But it is now generally believed[164] that 'the episode of the Kaumudī-Mahotsava has no bearing whatsoever on the early Gupta History'.

The coins of the Kotas bearing their name have been found in East Punjab, and Delhi, and 'they probably ruled in the Upper Gangetic valley'.[165] Scholars differ in their views about placing the Kotas; some identify it with Kanyakubja while others with Pāṭaliputra.[166]

It is known that Puṣpapura or Kusumapura was the name of both the Pāṭaliputra and Kānyakubja.[167] It must, however, be noted that the city of Puṣpa here is connected mainly with Samudragupta and not with the Kota-kulaja,[168] so the location of the city of the Kotas is not to be traced in Kusumapura or Puṣpapura. It is well known that Candragupta I received Magadha through his Licchavi-alliance and it is possible that Samudragupta enjoyed his youth playfully at Pāṭaliputra (*Puṣpa-āhvaye krīḍatā*). So Goyal's assumption that 'Hariṣeṇa has referred to Kānyakubja and not Pāṭaliputra'[169] is incorrect. It is only later that Kānyakubja gains the honour of being called Kusumapura when the glory of Pāṭaliputra had started declining.[170]

In view of the context of the victory over Kota-kulaja along with the Nāga kings Acyuta and Nāgasena and with the support of numismatic evidence it may be said that the kotas lived somewhere between East Punjab and Delhi.

9. *Kurus* (No.22, L.7) :

The Kurus were divided into two branches, the Northern and the Southern.[171] We have here a reference to the Uttarakurus.[172]

The Kurus were one of the most ancient and prominent of the Indo-Āryan kṣatriya tribes.[173] In the earliest literature the Kurus do not appear under that name as a people. But

mention is made of a prince, Kuruśravaṇa (Glory of the Kurus)[174] and of a Pākasthāman Kauravyāyaṇa.[175] The Atharvaveda[176] refers to Parīkṣita as a king of the Kurus and his son, Janamejaya, is mentioned in the Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa[177] as one of the great performers of the horse sacrifice.

Oldenberg [178] seems to be right in suggesting that the Kuru people, as known later, included some of the tribes referred to by other names in the Ṛgveda. Kuruśravaṇa, shown by his name to be connected with the Kurus, is in the Ṛgveda called Trāsadasyava, 'descendant of Trasadasyu,' who is well known as a king of the Purus. Moreover, it is likely that the Tṛtsu-Bharatas, who appear in the Ṛgveda as enemies of the Purus, later coalesced with them to form the Kuru people.[179] Moreover, there is evidence that the Bharatas occupied the territory in which the Kurus were later found. Two of them are spoken of in a hymn of the Ṛgveda[180] as having kindled fire on the Dṛṣadvatī, the Āpayā, and the Sarasvatī—that is to say, in the sacred places of the later Kurukshetra.[181]

In the Brāhmaṇa literature, the Kurus are often connected with Pāñcālas. [182]

The territory of the Kuru-Pāñcālas is declared in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa to be the middle country (Madhyadeśa).[183] A group of the Kuru people still remained further north—the Uttara Kurus beyond the Himalayas.[184] It appears from a passage of the Śātapatha Brāhmaṇa that the speech of the Northerners-that is, presumably the Northern Kurus-and of the Kuru—Pāñcālas was similar, and regarded as specially pure.[185] There seems little doubt that the Brahmanical Culture was developed in the country of the Kuru-Pāñcālas, and that it spread thence east, south and west.[186]

The Uttara Kurus, who play a mythical part in the Epic and later literature, are still a historical people in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,[187] where they are located beyond the Himalayas (pareṇa Himavantam). In another passege,[188] however, the country of the Uttara Kurus is stated by Vasiṣṭha Sāthavya to be a land of the gods (*deva-kṣetra*), but Jānṁtapi Atyarāti was anxious to conquer it, so that it is still not wholly mythical. It is reasonable to accept Zimmer's view that the

northern Kurus were settled in Kashmir, especially as Kurukshetra is the region where tribes advancing from Kashmir might naturally be found.[189] In Buddhist literature, Uttara-Kuru is very often mentioned as a mythic region, but there are some passages which go to show that there was a faint memory of a country that once had a historical existence.[190]

Some time before the fourth century B.C., the monarchical constitution of the Kurus gave place to a republic, for we are told by Kauṭilya[191] that the Kurus were '*rāja-śabdopajīvinaḥ*', or 'enjoying the status of rājan'—i.e. all citizens had equal rank and rights.[192]

Shafer[193] shows that only the upper castes of the Kauravas were Āryan, the bulk of the population were probably non-Āryan as is clear from the fact that whereas the Kauravas rallied the support mostly of the non-Āryans, the Pāṇḍavas had the support of Āryans and concludes that the Northern Kurus were Muṇḍic.[194]

10. *Licchavis* (No. 1, L.29; No. 4, L.7; No. 10, L.4; No. 12, L. 18; No. 13, L.3; No. 21, L.5; No. 40, L.4; No. 47, L.2; No. 49, L.2; No. 50, L.2; No. 53, L.2) :

The epithet 'Licchavi-dauhitra' (daughter's son of the Licchavi) for Samudragupta occurs in all these Gupta records. It suggests the importance of Candragupta I's marriage with the Licchavi princess Kumāradevī. The alliance had no social importance but it was important for political gain by virtue of which Candragupta I (Samudragupta's father) gained powerful position in Magadha and the neighbouring countries. In the Candragupta-Kumāradevī-coins, we have no mention of the Guptas but only of the Licchavis in plural '*Licchavayaḥ*' (the Licchavis). This supports the amalgamation of the Guptas with the Licchavis and we may agree with Majumdar that 'the epithet *Licchavi-dauhitra* was deliberately given to Samudragupta to emphasize his right of succession to the dual monarchy'.[195]

We also know of a house of the Licchavis at Nepal[196] but the separate reference to Nepal as a tributary province in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta[197] proves that it was different from the Licchavi kingdom which Samudragupta had inherited from his mother. The Licchavi kingdom of

Kumāradevī may be located in North Bihar with Vaiśālī (modern Basarh in Muzaffarpur district) as its centre.[198] It was a credit for the astute diplomacy of Candragupta to marry the Licchavi princess as we know, in ancient times, the Licchavis of Vaiśālī had been the rivals of the kings of Pāṭaliputra[199] and that they did not marry outside their area.[200]

The name of this powerful people has come to us in many different readings :

Licchavi, Lecchavi, Lecchai, Lecchaki, Licchvi, Nicchivi, Lichikki and Lichavi.

Of these the Licchavi has been most commonly used in literature.[201]

The earliest mention of this people is in Kauṭilya's Artha-śāstra,[202] where they are called Licchavis. Here we read that the corporations of Licchivi, Vṛji, Malla, Madra, Kakura, Kuru, Pañcāla and others were '*rājaśabdopajīvinaḥ*'. It is noteworthy that Kauṭilya distinguishes the Licchavis from the Vṛjis though some scholars consider them to be one.[203] H. Pandey[204] says that it appears from the Pali suttas that the names Vajji and Licchavi are interchangeable to some extent. But the accounts of Chinese pilgrims point to a different conclusion. Fa-Hien describes the kingdom of Vaiśālī where 'Licchavis' were the people of the country. He does not mention Vṛji or Vajji. Hiuen Tsang describes Vaiśālī and Vṛji as two distinct countries, and Watters is inclined to doubt the accuracy of his description of the Vṛji country.[205] But we know that Vajji was a powerful confederacy of which the Videhas along with the Licchavis, Jñātrikas, Ugras, Bhojas and others were the constituent confederate clans (aṭṭhakula). Of these the Licchavis and the Videhas were the most important, and the Licchavi Capital Vaiśālī was the head-quarter of the confederacy.[206] But Ray Chaudhuri observes : "Vajji was not only the name of the confederacy but also of one of the constituent clans. But the Vajjis like the Licchavis are sometimes associated with the city of Vaiśālī which was not only the capital of the Licchavi clan, but also the metropolis of the entire confederacy".[207] The Licchavi republic was generally called the saṁgha or gaṇa of the Vajjis. The Licchavis would not possibly have allowed this name, had they not themselves been Vajjians. In one passage,

the Licchavi Mahānāma, seeing that a band of young Licchavis who had been out hunting were gathered round the Buddha, is represented as saying, "They (i.e. the Licchavis) will become Vajjians, they will become Vajjians (*bhavissanti Vajji bhavissanti Vajji*)" ! This possibly only means that there was great hope of these Licchavi young men becoming true Vajjians, practising the seven conditions of welfare taught by the Buddha, conditions which endured their prosperity, and leading a more cultured life. Thus the Vajji appears to be a more dignified term. It might have originally been given to the tribe which inhabited what is known as *Vajjiraṭṭha* (*Vṛji-rāṣṭra*), i.e., the Vajjian country, in Buddhist literature. Later a separation seems to have taken place among the Vajjis and Licchavis, because the Arthaśāstra (XI. I) mentions the Licchavika and the Vṛjika as two distinct republics.[208]

The clan of the Licchavis figures very prominently in the annals of early Buddhism. Buddhaghoṣa, the celebrated Pali commentator has the following story[209] : The chief queen of the king of Benaras, at the time of her child-birth delivered lump of flesh, 'of the colour of lac and of bandhu and Jīvaka flowers'. Fearing the displeasure of the king if he should hear of this, the other queens put the lump of flesh into a casket marked with royal seal and placed it on the flowing waters of the Ganges. The casket was discovered by an ascetic, and taken by him to his hermitage, where he cared for the lump of flesh. After the lapse of some time, tha lump broke up into two pieces of flesh, which gradually assumed shape, till finally one of them became a boy resplendent like gold, and the other a girl. Whatever entered the stomach of these two infants looked as if put into a vessel of precious transparent stone (*maṇi*) so that they seemed to have no skin (*Nicchavi*). Others said: 'the two were attached to each other by their skin (*līna-chavi*) as if they had been sewn together'; so that these infants came to be designated 'Licchavis'. We are further told that on coming of age the boy and the girl were married to each other and from this brother and sister union sprang the race of the Licchavis [210]

The origin of the Licchavis has been a matter of great controversy. They have been represented as Scythians, Kolarians, Tibetans and Persians by different authorities.[211]

Samuel Beal[212] takes the Licchavis or Vajjis to be a branch of the 'Yue-Chi' forgetting that the latter came to India in the first century B.C. while the Licchavis were a highly civilized and prosperous people in the sixth century B.C.

In the opinion of J.P. Hewitt, there are "very strong indications that the Vajjians, who were certainly the earliest settlers in the country, were of Kolarian race who had lived there long before the arrival of the Dravidians and Āryans". The learned writer ignores the existence of the pre-Vajjian Āryan dynasty of rulers at Vaiśālī.[213]

V.A. Smith[214] found similarities between the customs of the Tibetans and those of the Licchavis in the practice of the exposure of the dead and also in judicial procedure. And hence he came to the conclusion that the Licchavis, the ruling tribe or clan in Vṛji country of which Vaiśālī was the capital, was really a Tibetan (or Mongolian) tribe which settled in the plains during the prehistoric times. The view has been criticised by B.C Law, K.P Jayaswal, H.C. Raychaudhuri and others on the following grounds[215]:

(1) The custom of the disposal of the dead was prevalent among the Vedic Āryans from whom the Licchavis were descended ;

(2) In the case of Tibet we have only three courts as against the seven tribunals of the Licchavis; further we know very little about the relative antiquity of the Tibetan procedure which might very well have been suggested by the system expounded in the Aṭṭhakathā.

S.C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa[216] suggests a Persian origin for the Licchavis holding that the name Licchavi (*Nicchavi* of Manu, X.22) was derived from the Persian city of *Nisibis*. There is very littte in Vidyābhūṣaṇa's surmise except a fancied resemblance between the names Nicchivi and Nisibis. Inscriptions of the Achaemenids are silent about any Persian settlement in the Eastern India in the sixth or fifth century B.C. The Licchavi people were more interested in *Yakṣa caityas* and the teaching of Mahāvīra and the Buddha than in the deities and Prophets of Iran.[217]

The Licchavis have been invariably represented as kṣatriyas in ancient Indian literature. As the Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta

informs us, they claimed a share of the remnants of the Buddha's body on the ground that they were kṣatriyas like the Buddha himself : "The Exalted one was a kṣatriya and so are we. We are worthy to receive a portion of relics of the Exalted one". We get many other similar instances.[218] We find that both the Śākyas (to whose race the Buddha belonged) and the Licchavis are described as progenies of brother and sister unions. Like the Śākyas, the Licchavis are also described as kṣatriyas.[219] Manu speaks of the Licchavis as kṣatriyas, though of the Vrātya variety.[220] Regarding the Vrātyas, Manu says : 'Those (sons) whom the twice-born have by the wives of equal caste, but who, not fulfilling their scared duties, are excluded from the initiation to *Sāvitrī*, one must designate by the appellation vrātyas'.[221]

We know that Mahāvīra, the founder of Jainism, was the very kin of the Licchavis and that he had many followers among the residents of Vaiśālī, even among the highest officers. Then again, between the sixth century B.C. and 200 B.C., the earliest estimated date of the Manusmṛti,[222] the Licchavis had won the good graces of the Buddha as well as of the followers of the religion he preached. During this long interval, when the two great 'heretic' faiths flourished in their country, the Licchavis might not have been particular to the ceremonies and practices that the regulations of the orthodox brāhmaṇas required. 'Hence we can understand how Manu, the great brāhmaṇa law-giver came to refer to the Licchavis as Vrātyas'.[223] But Gokhale[224] takes the term kṣatriya in this context to mean representative of political power rather than a specific caste in the brahminical hierarchy and from the word *Vrātya* infers that they were outside the pale of the brahminical civilization.

Scholars have divergent views about the connotation of the word 'Vrātya'.[225] Charpentier described the Vrātyas, as a band of people not governed by the rules of caste, probably representing the worst elements of Indian society,—the thief, the robber, the drunken one, etc. But Keith rejected this view by pointing out that Manu's reference to the *Rājanya Vrātyas*, e.g. Licchavis and Mallas (X.22) has no value for Vedic times.[226] Haver in his article 'Der Vrātya' derives 'Vrātya'

from '*vrata*'. Thus the oldest meaning of 'Vrāta' is a group of people bound by holy ceremonies, bound by a vow to cult-actions being derived from '*vrata*' which is a vow taken in the service of a god. The *Vrātīnas*, on the other hand, 'were Aryans of a more primitive culture and religion, than the orthodox brāhmaṇas, and were organised in cult-unions and both '*vrātya*' and '*vrātīna*' being derived from '*vrata*' are 'members of the same holy union'. The only difference between them apparently was that the Vrātīna went to the brāhmaṇa countries to perform the Vrātya-work and were paid for it, while the Vrātyas acted in their own homeland.[227]

From all these considerations, we can see that the views of Manu and the suggestion of B.C. Law are more tenable. In the Nepāla Vaṁśāvalī, the Licchavis are allotted to the Sūrya-vaṁśa or solar race of the kṣatriyas.[228] This is quite in agreement with the fact elicited from the Buddhist records that they were Vāsiṣṭhas by *Gotra*, for we know from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[229] that the *gotra* or *pravara* (family) of a kṣatriya is the same as that of his *purohita* or family-priest. The Vasiṣṭha *gotra* was, therefore, the *gotra* of their family priest, and we know that the Vasiṣṭhas were the family priests of the kings of the solar race, especially of the Ikṣvākus.[230]

11. *Madrakas* (No. I, L. 22) :

One of the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta. We also know of Madra as a personal name in No. 15, L. 8.

Madras claimed descent from an eponymous king Madraka, son of Śibi Auśīnara, and were septs of the family of Śivi like the Kaikeyas.[231]

According to Dr. Buddha Prakash 'Bhadra' was another Variant of Madra.[232] But this view is not acceptable to us. The Mahābhārata[233] mentions the Bhadras, but only in the Bombay recension; the Calcutta recension has Madra.[234] We know that Bhadra and Madra had independent existence, as found in the legend of Bhadrā Kākṣīvatī, bride of Vyuṣi-tāśva.[235] The queen had seven children, three Śālvas and four Madras.[236]

The Candravṛtti on Candra[237] informs us that Udumbara, Tilakhala, Madrakāra, Yugandhara, Bhuliṅga and Śaradaṇḍa, are the divisions of Sālva (or Śālva). The word Śālva literally

means an animal like stag or gazelle which bespeaks of Scythian origin.[238] Buddha Prakash connects it with the modern sub-caste Saluja (Skt. Sālvaja). Anyhow, we know that Madras were a branch of Śālvas who were sons of Bhadra. J. Przyluski[239] considers the Madras to have been a section of the Bhadras on the ground that the former had among their ancestress a queen named Bhadrā. Both the Bhadras and the Madrakas are mentioned separately in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā,[240] the Bhadras with the Śālvas in the Madhyadeśa (Middle land) and the Madrakas with the Mālavas in the northern quarter.

Nakula and Sahadeva were the sons of Pāṇḍu by his wife Mādrī. The name of their mother Mādrī suggests their connection with the clan of the Madras.[241] Since Bālhiki (Bāhlika stands for the Bactrians) was the title of Mādrī, Madras were of Irano-Bactrian origin; the Madras may represent the Iranian tribe, Māda or Mede.[242]

The Madras were an ancient kṣatriya tribe.[243] We do not find their mention in the early Vedic Saṁhitās but the Vaṁśa Brāhmaṇa (of the Sāmaveda) tells us of a Vedic teacher named Madra-gāra Śauṅgāyani ('descendant of Śuṅga') whose pupil was Kāmboja Aupamanyava.[244] Zimmer[245] concludes, with probability, that these names point to a connexion of the Kambojas and the Madras. We know from the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[246] that the Madra country was the chief centre of Vedic learning. We know of a Kāpya Patañcala amongst the Madras who was a famous teacher of Vedic lore.[247]

The Uttara Madras, the 'northern Madras' are referred to in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[248] as living beyond the Himalaya (*pareṇa himavantam*) in the neighbourhood of the Uttara Kurus, probably, as Zimmer[249] conjectures, in the land of Kashmira. The Madras mentioned in the Upaniṣads were, like the Kurus, probably settled somewhere in Kurukshetra in the Madhyadeśa or 'Middle Land'.[250]

Pāṇini[251] mentions two divisions of the Madras, Pūrva (eastern) and Apara (Western). In the Bṛhatsaṁhitā they are mentioned twice; firstly as Madra situated in West in Vāyavya Koṇa,[252] and secondly as Madraka with Mālava in the North.[253]

In the Rāmāyaṇa, we read that Sugrīva sent monkeys to

the Madrakas and other tribes in quest of Sītā.[254] The Madra tribe or kingdom[255] is mentioned in the Bhīṣmaparvan of the Mahābhārata (chap.IX) and in Pāṇini's grammar (II, 3, 73; IV, 4, 67). The Madras held the Central portions of the Punjab;[256] they appear in the Epic period to have occupied the district of Sialkot, between the rivers Chenab and Ravi,[257] or according to some between the Jhelum and the Ravi.[258] S.B. Chaudhuri [259] says that the Madras held the portion in the Doab between the Chenab and the Ravi, possibly comprising even a portion of the country between the Jhelum and the Chenab, and thus abutted on Kaikeya on the West. We get a clue to the inhabitance of the Madras from a verse in the Karṇaparvan of the Mahābhārata [260] which refers to a Madra, who had come to live among the Kurus, as yearning for his return to his native place beyond the Śatadru and the Irāvatī to enjoy the company of charming women.

Śākala (Pali-Sagala, modern Sialkot) was the capital of the *Madra*s identified [261] with Sanglawala-Tiba, to the West of the Ravi. From the Milinda-pañho, we learn that king Milinda (Menander) a Graeco-Bactrian king, who became a convert to Buddhism, was ruling over the Madda country with Sagala as his capital which according to a Buddhist lexicon, was one of the twenty ancient cities.[262] The brahminical name[263] of the Madra Capital was Śākala mentioned by Pāṇini[264] as Sānkala. In the Mahābhārata [265] and the Jātakas [266] Śākala is described as standing on the bank of the Āpagā in a tongue of land between two rivers, called the Śākaladvīpa, which corresponds to the Rechna Doab.

We know from the Mahābhārata about Śalya, king of the Madras (Madrarāja).[267] After severe fighting, and many vicissitudes, the Madra soldiers were killed by Arjuna.[268]

The Madras are mentioned in the Purāṇas as well.[269] The Viṣṇu Purāṇa[270] refers to the Madras along with the Ārāmas, Pārasīkas, and others and in the Matsya Purāṇa[271] with Gāndhāra, Yavana and others. The latter[272] mentions king Aśvapati of Śākala in the kingdom of the *Madra*s.

The *Madra*s, according to the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya[273] were a corporation of warriors and people enjoyed the title of *rājan* (*rājaśabdopajīvinaḥ*).[274]

Madra women were noted for their beauty.[275] The Jātakas bear ample testimony to the fact that the Madra princesses were sought in marriage by the great kṣatriya house of North India.[276] The Mahābhārata tells us that it was a family custom of the *Madra*s to receive a fee from the bridegroom when they gave their daughters in marriage.[277]

Some scholars identify the *Madra*s with Vāhlika (or Vāhīka).[278] Śākala as a Vāhīkagrāma is also mentioned by Patañjali.[279] From the references in the Mahābhārata, Vāhīka would appear to have stood for the whole of Punjab.[280] The Vāhīka-grāmas of Śākala and Pātanaprastha, as referred to in the grammatical works,[281] imply the inclusion of *Madra-janapada* in the Vāhīka country.

The *Madra*s are known as low, barbarous[282] and sinful people.[283] They are mentioned as base, impure and contemptible.[284] "Amongst the Madrakas all acts of friendship are lost"[285] and so it is said: "Neither one should create enmity, nor friendship with a Madraka".[286] The Rājataraṅgiṇī also records similar views.[287]

But the advent of the *Jarttikas* or *Jartas* (modern Jāṭs) who spread over the whole of Punjab was responsible for the degeneration of the Madras.[288] The legend of Sāvitrī and Satyavan is connected with the Madra country, for Sāvitrī was the daughter of Aśvapati, king of Madra.[289] In the Udyogaparvan the camp of Śalya is described as full of warriors, whose strange armours, bows and banners, unfamiliar trappings, vehicles and equipment and local costumes, ornaments and deportment presented a unique spectacle in the country of the Kurus.[290]

In the early part of the sixth century A.D. the Madra country passed under the rule of the Hūṇa conqueror Mihirakula (A.D. 515-535) who ruled from Sialkot. The Madras continued to flourish even up to the time of the Pāla king Dharmapāla in the 9th century A.D.[291]

12. *Mālava* (No. 1, L. 22; No. 17, L. 19; No. 32, L. 11): We know Mālava as a tribe which was subjugated along with some other tribes by Samudragupta (No. 1). No. 17 refers to the Mālava-gaṇa[292] which has been translated by Fleet as 'the tribal constitution of the Mālavas' in the sense of the event of some formal establishment of the Mālavas' as a tribe.[293] Fleet fixes

it up as 57-56 B.C.[294] Thomas[295] translates the expression as "the continuance (sthiti) of the tribal constitution (gaṇa) of the Mālavas" and adds "It was to *gaṇa-sthiti*, not to *gaṇa*, that I gave the meaning of 'tribal constitution' ; and I did not introduce the idea of 'Continuance'." My amended translation is "the usage of the Mālava tribe."[296] Thus the expression '*Mālavānām gaṇa*' refers to the Mālavas as a tribe. No. 32 speaks of the Mālava-vaṁśa which has been translated as 'the race of the Mālavas,[297] but it would be better to translate it as "the dynasty of the Mālavas".[298] It seems that this tribe had established independent rulership and so we find the word '*vaṁśa*' used where the word '*gaṇa*' could also be used.[299]

Dr. Buddha Prakash holds that Madras and Mālavas were the same, in Prakrit Madra becomes Malla, as '*dra*' is changed into '*ll*'. He identifies *Malla* with the Malloi of the Greeks and Mālava of the Epic. He points out that the sons of Aśvapati, king of the Madras, were called Mālavas after their mother, according to decree of Yama which shows that Madra and Mālava were identical.[300]

But we venture to disagree with the learned scholar. The Bṛhatsaṁhitā mentions Madraka and Mālava separately but side by side as people of the North.[301]

At the time of Samudragupta, the Mālavas possibly lived in Rajasthan and West Malwa[302] consisting of Mewar, Tonk and adjoining regions of south-east Rajasthan.[303] They setteled in various localities in Western India after having migrated from the Punjab where they had fought with Alexander on the lower banks of Ravi.[304] Their original home was in Jhang District, Punjab.[305] Subsequently they became the inhabitants of Malwa and the Vikrama era derived its original appellation from them.[306] That the Mālavas had migrated to the Jaipur region (Rajasthan) from the Punjab is supported by the fact that the legend on some Mālava coins found in Rajasthan reads from right to left as in Kharoṣṭhī, which was prevalent in the Punjab and the north-west from very early times.[307] The Sikhs of Ferozpur, Ludhiana, Patiala, Jind and Malerkotala are still known as Mālava Sikhs, probably, because these regions were populated by the Mālavas in ancient times.[308] Mālava and Mālavaka are also to be differentiated, the former is

Mālava proper while the latter is lesser Mālava with the diminutive suffix '*ka*'.[309]

Mālava is the same as *Malloi* of the Greeks.[310] Pāṇini does not mention them by name, but his sūtra, V.3. 117 speaks of '*āyudhajīvī saṁgha*s', or tribes living by the profession of arms, and the Kāśikā says that amongst these saṁghas were the Mālavas and Kṣudrakas.[311] The Mālava tribe is actually mentioned in the Mahābhaṣya of Patañjali.[312]

The Mahābhārata couples the Mālavas with the Trigarttas,[313] as well as with the Śivis and Ambaṣṭhas.[314] But soon they migrated southwards and settled somewhere in Rajasthan where we find them at the time of Samudragupta.[315] Many coins found at Nagar, 45 miles north of Kota, have the legend. "*Mālavānām jayaḥ*" (victory of the Mālavas) in letters belonging to the period from 250 B.C. to A.D. 250. According to Cunningham these coins show that the existence of the Mālavas as a recognised and important clan, long before their tribal constitution led to the establishment of their era.[316] The Mālavas came into conflict with Nahapāna's son-in-law Uṣavadāta who subdued them.[317]

According to the Purāṇas[318] the Mālavas are associated with the Saurāṣṭras, Avantis, Ābhīras, Śūras, and Arbudas, dwell along the Pariyātra mountains. Thus they seem to have occupied other territories besides the Punjab or Rajasthan. Pargiter points out that even according to the Purāṇas the Mālavas lived in a 'mountanious' country, and were nowhere near present Malwa. Mālava king were taken as vrātya and mostly śūdra in the Purāṇas.[319]

The Bhīṣmaparvan of the Mahābhārata mentions the western (pratīcya) and northern (*udīcya*) sections of the Mālavas.[320] But the Rāmāyaṇa locates the Mālavas in the east.[321] Kāmasūtra's commentator Jayamaṅgala, who flourished later than the fourteenth century, says that Āvantika, which is identical with Ujjayinī-deśa, is *apara-Mālava*.[322] This has led some writers to suggest that Mālava proper is Daśārṇa. But Jayamaṅgala's geographical knowledge was not perfect.[323] His remark on Mālava is to be rejected as it runs counter to earlier authorities. Rājaśekhara mentions Mālava, Avanti and Vidiśā and the Mañjūśrī mentions Mālava, Vidiśā and Daśārṇa side

by side[324] Modern Malwa is the region around Ujjayinī and Bhilsa. The influence of the Mālavas in the Mandasor region is proved by the fact that they could impose their tribal era upon the Mandasor princes.[325] An inscription describes the subjugation of Sapta-Mālava by Daṇḍanāyaka Anantapāla, a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI.[326]

The Harṣacarita of Bāṇa refers to the 'wicked Mālava king' generally identified with Devagupta, who killed Grahavarman Maukhari, but was himself defeated by Rājyavardhana. B.C. Law places the kingdom of Devagupta between Prayāga and Bhilsa which is identical with Pūrva-Mālava.[327]

Thus the Mālavas originally belonged to Jhang District in Punjab (now in Pakistan), from where they spread all over Punjab and by the time of Samudragupta had migrated to Rajasthan. The Mālavas had emerged in 250 B.C. as an independent tribal state. But they came under the subservience of the Śakas in the Ist century B.C., to the western kṣatraps from the 2nd to the 4th centuries A.D. and to Samudragupta in the 4th century A.D., but this typical native state exerted itself again.[328] In the period after about A.D. 550 they seem to have migrated further to the east and covered the region from Bhilsa (Eastern Malwa) to Prayāga.[329] During the rule of the Pālas of Bengal they seem to have migrated still further east ; for the copper plates of the Pāla kings (excepting Dharmapāla), refer to the Mālavas as mercenary troops in their army.[330]

The name of the tribe survives in the modern province of Malwa (a transformation of the word Mālava), and in the brāhmaṇa castes called 'Mālavīs' or 'Mālavikas'. They are the brāhmaṇas of Mālava proper and the adjoining country, but are found also in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh.[331]

13. *Mleccha* (No. 14, L. 4) :

According to Sircar[332] Fleet conjectures the reading to be Mleccha. The last few letters in line 4 after '*ni*' are not legible. So how Fleet could take this reading without putting any doubt is really surprising. Mlecchas were amongst the enemies defeated by Skandagupta in this inscription (No. 14). The war with the Mlecchas probably refers to his fight with the Hūṇas which is specifically referred to in the Bhitari Pillar Inscription. Whether the Mlecchas are the same as Hūṇas or were a

different tribe, both the records (No. 13, No. 14) claim that Skandagupta completely defeated these enemies.[333] The fact that in both the inscriptions, the reference to the fight with the Hūṇas and Mlecchas is preceded by a reference to the falling fortunes of the family supports the identification.

We also find a reference to the oppression of the earth by the Mlecchas in the epilogue of the play *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* written by Viṣākhadatta where it is prayed that 'The earth may now be protected by "His Highness" along with relatives and retinue by king Candragupta'. It is probable that the play was written after the Rāmagupta episode and probably the word Mleccha in this context alludes to the Śakas who were suppressed by Candragupta II in the guise of the Gupta queen Dhruvasvāminī.

D.C. Sircar [334] is of the view that Mleccha is the name applied to the Muhammadans and other foreigners. In the Sanskrit language originally there does not appear to have been any general term for a foreigner. But as the *Dāsa*, *Dasyu*, *Barbara*, and *Mleccha* became more or less absorbed in Āryan civilization and the original specific meaning of these terms was no longer remembered, these words came to be used for any foreigner.[335]

The word Mleccha was used to refer to both the eastern and western Ānavas. In course of time it came to be used for almost any non-Āryan and even for Āryans of impure speech. Subsequently the term meant something like "foreigner", but that was after most of the Ānavas had become assimilated.[336] When not used in association with the foreigners the word Mleccha is used for one who is impure, dirty or uncultured. It is derived from the root √*mlich*∼*mlech*,[337] meaning to speak indistinctly (like a foreigner or barbarian who does not speak Sanskrit). We find the use of root in Mahābhāṣya.[338]

The Sanskrit term Mleccha, referring to the indistinct speech of some non-Āryans, is taken from proto-Bodish (proto-Tibetan) *mltśe* "tongue", Old Bodish *ltśe*, Kukish generally *mlei*, the combination of initial consonants *(mltś——)* being simplified in various ways in different Tibeto-Burmic languages. Aspiration cannot occur after *l* in old Bodish; and the proto-Bodish form may have been *mltse* for all we know, so the '*cch*' of Sanskrit "Mleccha may come nearer the primitive affricate

than anything preserved in the Tibeto-Burmic languages. Since '*mlcche*' would be an impossible combination in Sanskrit, *mleccha* would be as close as a Sanskrit speaker could come to it''.[339]

Mleccha[340] occurs in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[341] in the sense of a barbarian in speech. Here the brāhmaṇas are forbidden to use barbarian speech. The example[342] given of such speech is "*he' layo*", explained by Sāyaṇa as "*he' rayaḥ*", "ho, foes''. The barbarians referred to were Āryan speakers, though not speakers of Sanskrit, but of a Prakrit form of speach.[343]

An ancient tradition regards the Andhras, Pulindas and Śabaras as dog-eaters or Mlecchas.[344] The Jain Prajñāpanā records two divisions of the people of India—*Milikkha* and Ārya, and enumerates 53 people in the former group, some of which are the Saga, Javana, Sabara, Vavvara, Hoṇa, Romaya, Pārasa and Khasa.[345]

The Mahābhārata[346] states that the Mlecchas dwelt in the Yavana, Cīna and Kamboja countries. In a dual between Karṇa and Śalya, Karṇa highly condemns the people of the Vāhīka and especially of the Madra Country and describes them as the Mleccha, the dirt among the human beings.[347] They belong to unpious countries and are totally ignorant about the Dharma (righteous conduct).[348] At another place, it is stated that the Yavanas are the Mlecchas, though they follow their own ways (i.e. not following the Vedic Orthodoxy) yet they are full of knowledge and brave but the Vāhīkas and the Madras are condemned as utterly foolish.[349] This makes it clear that the people not following the righteous conduct according to the Āryan beliefs, whether indigenous or foreign, were labelled as the Mlecchas. The Mahābhārata[350] shows that the coastal regions were the favourite resort of the Mlecchas and that they were dreadful. The Epic describes the Mlecchas as being impure because they were of bovine extraction and describes them as fierce and cruel.[351]

In the *Manu-Smṛti*[352] the king is advised to exclude at deliberation time, the foolish, dumb, blind, and deaf, birds, the aged, women; the Mlecchas (the impure), diseased and deformed. At another place in the *Manu-Smṛti* where the girls bearing the names after a star, a tree, (or) a river, one called

after the *Antyas* or a mountain, one called after a bird, snake, or slave or with a terrifying name are forbidden for marriage, Kullūka, the commentator on Manu explains the word *Antya* as representing the Mlecchas.[353] From the Manu[354] it is clear that the Mlecchas spoke a different language than the Āryans.

The *Vāyu, Matsya* and *Brahmāṇḍa* Purāṇas state that the seven Himalayan rivers pass through the Mleccha countries.[355] In the *Varāha Purāṇa*, a place named Lohārgala is stated to be ruled over by the Mleccha kings.[356]

The Amara-kośa[357] describes the Kirātas, Śabaras and Pulindas as the *Mlecchajātis*. The Bṛhat-Saṁhitā[358] places them in the West and describes them as unrighteous. It places them under the jurisdiction of *Maṅgala graha*[359] and assigns them the region of *Rāhu graha*, inhabiting the mountain-tops, low-regions or the caves.[360] In the 'life' of Hiuen Tsang, all places to the north of Lamgham district have been described as *Mi-li-ku*, i.e. frontier or Mleccha lands.[361]

In the Ārya-mañjūśrī-Mūla-kalpa, the Mlecchas frequently appear as the companions of robbers.[362] In the Kathāsarit-Sāgara,[363] the Mlecchas are connected with Sindh. They are stated to have killed brāhmaṇas, interfered with sacrifices, and carried off the daughters of hermits.[364] The Rājataraṅgiṇī[365] mentions the Mlecchas as issuing forth from the valleys adjoining the Himalayas.

In medieval inscriptions, the name Mleccha has been applied indiscriminately to all foreigners.[366] The Mleccha army of the Gwalior Praśasti of Bhoja consisted of the Arabs.[367] The Mlecchas of the inscriptions of the medieval period refer to Muhammadans and the people of Baluchistan.[368]

The Siddhānta-Kaumudī[369] describes the *Kṣudhunas* as the Mlecchas. In the Śaktisaṅgama Tantra (a work of the 17th century), we get reference to the Mleccha (verse 24), Mahāmleccha (verses 28, 30) and *Mleccha-mārga* (verse 31) where they are mentioned along with Pāñcāla, Kāmboja and Bāhlīka and the Khurāśan country is described as the *Mleccha-mārga*.[370]

14. *Muruṇḍas* (No. 1, L.23) :
Muruṇḍa is mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta along with the terms Daivaputra, Ṣāhi Ṣāhānuṣāhi and Śaka as one compound expression.[371] Fleet takes

Śakas and Muruṇḍas as two separate tribes. They were one of the foreign potentates who came of their own accord to offer allegiance to Samudragupta.

According to Sten Konow '*muruṇḍa*' is the later form of a Śaka word meaning 'lord' or 'master'. The term 'Śaka-Muruṇḍa' therefore possibly stands for those Śaka lords or chieftains who were ruling in the regions of Surāṣṭra and Ujjain at the time of Samudragupta.[372]

But we find in the Khoh plates of Mahārāja Sarvanātha the names 'Muruṇḍadevī'[373] and Muruṇḍasvāminī[374] which shows that *Muruṇḍa* was the name of a tribe and not a title.

On the basis of Khoh plates, Smith[375] suggested that "the Muruṇḍas may possibly have been settled in the hill country of Riwa along the Kaimur range or more probably further south in the Vindhya or north Dekkan or possibly in the Chhota-nagpur".

According to R.K. Mookerji,[376] the people called here as the Muruṇḍas are to be distinguished from the Śakas and may be identified with the Kuṣāṇas, as earlier suggested by Sten Konow.[377]

We know that the term *Daivaputra* in the inscription has been used to refer to the Kuṣāṇa kings, and Śakas are mentioned separately. So we cannot equate Muruṇḍas with the Kuṣāṇas as suggested by R. K. Mookerji.

Some scholars regard Muruṇḍa as the name of a powerful foreign tribe, ruling in the upper Ganges valley.[378] According to the Chinese authority, the Capital of Meou-lun (a word equated with Muruṇḍa) was 7,000 li from the mouth of the Great River, which was undoubtedly the Ganges. Allan is, therefore, not right in suggesting that the Chinese description of the capital refers to Pāṭaliputra.[379] Jayaswal took Śaka-Muruṇḍa to denote the smaller Śaka rulers like the 'Shalada, Shaka and the Gadahara chiefs as well as the Western Satraps'.[380]

In the Abhidhāna-Cintāmaṇi[381] and the Vaijayantī[382] the *Lampākas* are identified with Muruṇḍas. The *Lampākas* are the same as the *Lambatai* of Ptolemy.[383] The Purāṇas,[384] mention *Lampākas*, the people who were residing in *Lampāka*, the modern *Laghman* in Afghanistan. Rājaśekhara seems to be

referring to Lampāka as Limpaka.[385]

The Muruṇḍas seem to be a foreign tribe. Muruṇḍa is clearly a non-Āryan word and can have no Āryan derivation.[386]

Ptolemy (2nd century A.D.) mentions the Muruṇḍas for the first time under the name *Moroundai* and places them on the western border of the '*Gangaridai*'. They seem to have occupied an extensive territory, probably the whole of North-Bihar on the east of the Gaṅgā, as far as the head of the delta. They had six important cities, all to the east of the Gaṅgā : Boraita, Koryagaza, Kondota, Kelydna, Aganegora and Talarga. These places are difficult to identify but to Saint-Martin Kelydna appeared to have some relation with Kālinadī or Kālindī river, and *Aganagora* with *Aghadip* (*Agradvīpa*) on the eastern bank of the Ganges, a little below Katwa.[387]

According to Cunningham, the name of the *Marundai* is still preserved in the country of the Muṇḍas, a hill tribe scattered over Chhota-Nagpur and Central India.[388] But M.S. Pandey[389] opposes the view on the ground that the Muruṇḍas dwelt in the north-west with other foreign tribes. The evidence is strong enough to show that the Muruṇḍas had not spread so far to the east as to occupy the Chhota-Nagpur region. However, barbarous and pastoral the Muruṇḍas might have been before their immigration into India, when they held the sceptre in their hands they must have been endowed with the quality and capacity to rule over a people who were highly civilized. Such a race could hardly have sunk to a position so low as that of the Muṇḍas of the modern times. Moreover, the Muṇḍas are a dominant division of the aboriginals of the Chhota-Nagpur region. Had they been the descendants of the Muruṇḍas, we should have found them in other parts of Central India also, and not confined to this small region so far from their place of origin.[390]

M.S. Pandey[391] disagrees with the Puranic account on the basis that many discrepancies have crept in owing to the mistakes of the copyists.

15. *Prārjūnas* (No. 1, L.22) :

A tribe subdued by Samudragupta who are said to have obeyed his imperial commands and paid all kinds of taxes. Vincent Smith[392] places the Prārjūnas in the Narasiṁhapur district of

the Central Provinces, but a more plausible location is Narasiṁhagarh in Central India,[393] as much as three other tribes which are coupled with Prārjūnas, the Sanakānīkas, Kākas and Kharaparikas, seem to have occupied regions more or less within the bounds of Central India [394] The tribe, associated with the name of Arjuna, existed in the Punjab and north-west before the advent of Gupta power in the fourth century A.D.[395] Kauṭilya knows of a people called *Prājjunaka* (*Prārjunaka*).[396]

16. *Puṣyamitras* (No. 13, L.11) :

The Bhitari Stone Pillar Inscription[397] records Skandagupta's victory over a powerful enemy called the Puṣyamitras, who possessed a strong army and a rich treasury : he (Skandagupta) placed (his) left foot on a foot-stool which was the king (of that tribe himself).[398] H. R. Divekar suggested the reading *Yudhy-amitrān* in place of *Puṣyamitrān*. But, as pointed out by R.D. Banerji,[399] the proposed reading is impossible.

There are several views about the identification of the Puṣyamitras.

(i) Fleet identified them with the people mentioned in the Purāṇas as *Paṭumitras* and located them on the Narmadā.[400]

(ii) V.A. Smith[401] regarded them as a people of the North.

(iii) Hoernle believed that they were the same as the *Maitrakas*.[402]

(iv) R.D Banerji[403] regarded them as the first wave of the Hūṇas.

(v) N K. Bhattasali has suggested that the Puṣyamitras were the descendants of king Puṣyavarmā of Assam.[404]

Bhattasali says that a pun (śleṣa) has been used for "the descendants of Puṣyavarman of Assam who had so long been *mitras* or friends of the Guptas, but had change into foes by their desire for conquest and had invaded the Gupta empire from the east and made it totter". But as remarked by D.C. Sircar, "there is no grammatical, lexicographical, or literary support, for this interpretation of the name Puṣyamitra".[405]

Bhattasali opines that Mahendravarman, whom he assigns to the period A.D. 450 to 490 who performed two horse-sacrifices must have been powerful enough to launch an attack on the Gupta empire in the reign of Skandagupta.

We know that the definite limits of Skandagupta's reign are from A.D. 455 to 467. The period of the rule of Mahendravarman, however, cannot be so definitely fixed because we do not possess any dated records of his reign. As a matter of fact the entire chronology of the kings of Assam can be settled approximately only by means of synchronisms and rough calculations. The attack on the Gupta empire by the Varmans of Assam in the reign of Skandagupta is an impossibility.[406]

The Puṣyamitras cannot be a branch of the Hūṇas as held by R.D. Banerji. The Hūṇas have been mentioned separately in the Bhitari Inscription.[407] "By whose (Skandagupta's) two arms the earth was shaken, when he, the creator (of a disturbance like that) of a terrible whirlpool, joined in close conflict with the Hūṇas". Hoernle's view that "the Puṣyamitras were the same as Maitrakas who some years later under the leadership of Bhaṭārka established themselves in Valabhī probably with the help of the Hūṇa ruler Toramāṇa";[408] is also not acceptable as the Maitrakas remained subservient to the Imperial Guptas from the time of Bhaṭārka to that of Droṇasiṁha.[409] Therefore, they cannot be the same as Puṣyamitras who rebelled against Skandagupta.

The Purāṇas mention a people called Puṣyamitras, whose rule commenced after the end of the dynasty of the *Vindhyakas*. In the Viṣṇupurāṇa MSS. consulted by Prof. Wilson we have the following statement : "and Puṣpamitras, and Paṭumitras and others to the number of thirteen will rule over Mekalā".[410] Prof. Wilson has added the following note, "It seems most correct to separate the thirteen sons or families of the Vindhya princes from these Bāhlikas and then from the Puṣyamitras and Paṭumitras who governed Mekalā, a country on the Narmadā".[411]

A similar statement is to be found in the Vāyupurāṇa, according to which 'the Puṣyamitras and Paṭumitras are grouped with the rulers of Mekalā, whose seven kings have not been named.[412]

The mention of *Vindhyakas*, evidently a people of the Vindhya region, and of Mekalā, points to the south rather than to North. So the view of V.A. Smith that the Puṣyamitras were a people of the North is not acceptable.

Thus the view of Fleet that the Puṣyamitras are to be placed in Central India somewhere in the country along the banks of the Narmadā, seems to be most reasonable.[413] This is supported by numismatic evidence, a hoard of coins brought to light by D.B. Diskalkar,[414] from the village of Bamnala, 24 miles to the south of the Narmadā, indicates that there was a serious disturbance of peace in the vicinity of Mekalā, in the middle of the fifth century A.D. and we may connect it with the rising of the Puṣyamitras in that region.[415]

17. *Sāhānuṣāhi*[416] (No. 1, L. 23) :

Ṣāhānuṣāhis are also mentioned to have paid homage to Samudragupta along with other tribes. The Ṣāhānuṣāhis are to be identified with the Sassanids or the Sassanian kings. The title '*Sāhānuṣāhi* (*śahān-śāh*) has frequently been used by the Sassanian kings.[417] The contemporary Sassanian emperor was Shahpur II (A.D. 309-379).[418] The Sassanians are known to have been the rulers of Persia from A.D. 211 to 651.[419] According to tradition the dynasty is named after its founder Sassan. His son and successor Papaka, seized power by a coup d'etat against his suzerain, the Parthian king and his accession was the starting point for a new era (A.D. 208).[420]

Goyal[421] confuses the Sassanians with the Pārasīkas of Kālidāsa. But they were different from the Pārasīkas. The Sassanians had founded a powerful kingdom in Persia, but they had not yet conquered the whole of Persia.[422] The Pārasīkas of Kālidāsa were the Ṣāhis.[423] Though the possibility of a Kuṣāṇa-Sassanian coalition may not be ruled out it seems that at the time of Samudragupta,[424] three kings the Daivaputra (the Kuṣāṇas), the Ṣāhi (the Persians or the Pārasīkas of Kālidāsa), and the Ṣāhānuṣāhi (the Sassanians) were ruling independently.[425]

Buddha Prakash[426] traces the Khatri sub-castes Sahni and Osahan as the remnants of the title 'Ṣāhānuṣāhi'. But this is far-fetched. So far as Sahni is concerned it is to be connected with Sādhanika the name of an officer in the administration of the early medieval period.[427]

It may be noted that the Sassanian title Śahan-Śāh was used for the Great Emperor in Mughal period, which usage continues. In popular parlance the term is used for calling or

receiving some person respectively.

18. *Ṣāhi*[428] (No.1, L.23) :

The Ṣāhis are said to have paid homage to Samudragupta. From the appendix it is clear that Daivaputra is not an adjective of Ṣāhi as Goyal[429] has surmised and has identified it with Kidāra Kuṣāṇa of the Great Kuṣāṇa family.

Daivaputras have been interpreted to denote the Kuṣāṇas ; so Ṣāhis cannot be identified with the Kuṣāṇas. They must have been an independent and separate tribe, and may be identified with the Persians mentioned in the Raghuvaṁśa in connexion with the North-Westren conquests of Raghu.[430]

Goyal[431] identifies the Sassanians with the Pārasīkas of Kālidāsa. But Pārasīkas can never be identified with Sassanians. The word 'Pārasīkas' itself clearly be speaks of the Persians and is identical with the modern Parasis. Moreover, Ṣāhānuṣāhis are to be identified with the Sassanians whereas Ṣāhis refer to the Persians. Even now the king of Persia (Iran) is known as 'Shāh of Iran'.

Ṣāhi is an Iranian or Persian word and seems to have some relation with Sanskrit root $\sqrt{}$*śās* to rule, which when formed a noun means 'a ruler'.[432] The Śāhi dynasty of Kabul was ousted by the brāhmaṇa minister of the last king. The new dynasty was also known as the Śāhis and has been mentioned by Al-Beruni and Kalhaṇa.

The word *Śāha* or *Sāhu*, often used for banias in villages, is not connected with Ṣāhi or Śāhi but is to be derived from Sanskrit '*sādhu*'.[433]

19. *Saiṁhalaka* (No. 1, L. 23) :

Inhabitants of Siṁhala or Ceylon. They are mentioned along with the Daivaputras, Ṣāhis, Ṣāhānuṣāhis, Śakas and Muruṇḍas, and all (other) dwellers in islands (probably the islands of Southern Sea such as Jāvā and Sumātrā)[434] who paid homage to Samudragupta by offering themselves for services, bringing presents of maidens, praying for charters bearing the imperial Gupta Garuḍa seal (*Garutmadaṅka*) by which they would be left undisturbed by the emperor in the enjoyment (*bhukti*) and administration (*śāsana*) of their respective territories.[435] If literally interpreted the inscription will suggest that the people mentioned here were really tributaries under Samudragupta.

When we see from the inscription itself that the Tamil states were left undisturbed, the inclusion of even distant Siṁhala (Ceylon) and all other islands in this category raises great doubts about this interpretation, and we shall hardly be justified in taking the words of the Court-poet in their literal sense without corroborative evidence.[436] But the question arises that was the conquest of Tāmraparṇī (Siṁhala) by Aśoka in his Rock Edict II also a simple boast of this kind ?[437]

So far as Ceylon is concerned, we have fortunately an independent evidence of its political relation with Samudagupta.

We know that after the death of king Mahāsena (A.D. 334—62) of the Lambakarṇa clan his son Sumeghavarṇa (*chi-mi-kia-po-mo*="cloud of merit") became king of Ceylon who was a contemporary of Samudragupta *(San-meou-to-lo-kin-to)*.[438] He, according to a Chinese text, sent two monks to Bodh-Gayā to visit the sacred spots, but they were put to great inconvenience for want of suitable accommodation. To remove this difficulty for future pilgrims to the holy place, Meghavarṇa decided to found a monastery there. He accordingly sent a mission to Samudragupta with rich presents and asked for permission, and the Ceylonese king built a splendid monastery to the north of the Bodhi tree.[439]

By the time of Hiuen Tsang it had developed into a magnificant establishment, with more than 1,000 priests, and the pilgrim has described the rich decorations and massive grandeur of the buildings. Referring to the old history of its foundation Hiuen Tsang says that the Ceylonese king 'gave in tribute to the king of India all the jewels of his country'. "It is likely that Samudragupta's courtier also regarded the rich presents as a tribute, and construed the Ceylonese king's prayer for permission to build a monastery into an 'application for charter confirming him in the enjoyment of his territories', one of the forms of homage paid by the category of states into which Siṁhala is included".[440]

Siṁhala is generally identified with Laṅkā. But Varāhamihira[441] mentions both of them separately as situated in the South.

Laṅkā has been identified differently by various scholars with Laṅkā of Madhyadeśa,[442] with Maldives,[443] with the

northern part of the Andhra country on the shores of the Bay of Bengal,[444] and with an island off the south-east Coast of Ceylon.[445] All these theories are refuted by S.B. Chaudhuri[446] who remarks that the assumption that Laṅkā is not Ceylon is gratuitous.[447] He points out that in the Rāmāyaṇa Rāvaṇa while entreating Sītā to be his wife says : "*Laṅkānāma samudrasya madhye mama mahāpurī sāgareṇa parikṣiptā niviṣṭā......*"[448] Hanuman makes a similar statement in describing the strategical position of Laṅkā : *Sthitā pāre samudrasya dūrapārasya.*[449] Kālidāsa in his Raghuvaṁśa in connexion with '*Purīm Laṅkām*' writes : "*Mahārṇava parikṣepam lankāyāḥ parikhālaghum*".[450] With regard to the bridge built by Rāma Kālidāsa notes : *sa setuṁ bandhayāmāsa plavaṅgairlavaṇāmbhasi.*[451] In the Skanda Purāṇa[452] and in the Kathāsaritsāgara, we have similar references to Laṇkā.[453] All these passages point distinctly to the great sea on the other side of which was situated the great city of Laṅkā.

The separate mention of Siṁhala and Laṅkā in many Sanskrit texts is quoted to show that Laṅkā was distinct from Ceylon.[454] This is hardly convincing for the separate mention of Mathurā and Śūrasena, Sāketa and Kosala, Gāndhāra and Takṣaśilā, Avanti and Ujjainī, did not imply any material geographical difference as they were treated only as convertible terms in geographical texts of the Purāṇas. In the Puranic lists, Laṇkā is a territorial name and Siṁhala is an ethnic name. As the name of a city in the island of Siṁhala, Laṅkā passed off as a *dvīpa*, and the two names were used in the same geographical sense. A passage in the Rāmāyaṅa runs thus : "*Siṁhalān barbarān mlecchān ye ca laṅkānivāsinaḥ*".[455] Hiuen Tsang also mentions *Seng-ka-lo* (Ceylon) which included *Leugka* (Laṅkā).[456] As pointed out by B.C. Law, the Mahāvaṁśa and its commentary show that Laṅkādvīpa (the lower portion) was one of the main divisions of the island of Ceylon.[457]

It is a valid presumption, therefore, that the ancient name Laṅkā referred to Ceylon.[458] We may assume further, as seems very likely, that Laṅkā was the early name of Ceylon and its literary name as well. Mention is made of *Laṅkādvīpa* even in medieval inscriptions.[459] The Madras museum plates of Jaṭilavarman refer to the beautiful island of Laṅkā as *Ilangai.*[460] Epigraphic evidence, however, shows that Siṁhala, another name

of ancient Ceylon, was equally well known. Thus the Kanhad plate of Kṛṣṇa III refers to the island of Siṁhala.[461] In another inscription the king of Siṁhala is described as waiting on the shore.[462] In other inscriptions Siṁhala is variously designated as Siṅgala-deśam,[463] Sīlam[464] and Sihala.[465] All this evidence favours the suggestion that as territorial names Siṁhala and Laṅkā were convertible terms, although the latter is also used as the name of a city. Priaulx remarks and probably, correctly, that Laṅkā was the old mythological name for Ceylon, and that later on it was supplanted by Tāmraparṇī, and subsequently when the Periplus was written, by *Palaesimundus* or *Palaesimoundon* which itself was transformed into *Salike*, *Serendiva* derived from Pali *Sihala* or *Sihala dīpa*.[466] The name *Palaesimoundon* is very plausibly based on "*pāre samudrasya*",[467] in the description given of Laṅkā as noted above. Ptolemy's Simoundon[468] also refers to that name. But in Ptolemy's Geography the island is called *Salike* which responds to *Siele diba* of *Kosmas Indicopleustes*[469] both of which have their sources in *Sihalam* "the Pāli form of Sanskrit Siṁhala" or Ceylon. To this source may be traced its other names such as *Serendib*, *Zeilan*, *Sialan*,[470] the last one yielding to Ceylon. Marco Polo's *Seilan*[471] is a nearer approach to the modern name. Van-der-turk suggests that the name may have been derived from *Sela* or 'precious stone', hence the island was anciently called *Ratnadvīpa*.[472] An Arab historian called it the "Island of Rubies". The Chinese name for the island also implies reference to gems. The name *Sailān* also occurs in the works of Rashiduddin, Hayton and Jordanus.[473] Al-Beruni called it *Singaldīb*.[474] Siṁhala is perhaps so called as once abounding in lions.[475]

We may note here that there are references to another Siṁhala quite different from Ceylon.[476] It was placed to the east of Marudeśa and to the south of the Kāmādri. It is evidently in the Punjab-Rajasthan region and reminds us of the kingdom of *Siṁhapura* mentioned by Hiuen Tsang.

20. *Śaka* (No. 1, L.23) :

One of the tribes which is said to have paid homage to Samudragupta. As we have already discussed in connexion with the Muruṇḍas, the expression, 'Śaka-Muruṇḍa' should

not be translated to mean Śaka-lords. Following Fleet[477] we may better split the expression into two distinct names, the Śakas and Muruṇḍas.

The Śakas in the time of Samudragupta (4th century A.D.) must be the Śakas of Western India belonging to the *Satrapal* family of Caṣṭana and Rudradāman. In this period the Śaka ruler was Rudrasiṁha II and his successor Rudrasiṁha III, whose coins come up to A.D. 390, was killed by Candragupta II.[478] Other persons of that nationality were ruling in and about Sāñcī.[479]

The Scyths, whom Indians named as Śakas, were originally living on the borders of Bactria. A nomadic people called Yueh-Chih by the Chinese forced them to move from that place. Eventually in the beginning of the first century B.C., the Śakas moved on from Bactria to attack first the Parthians of Iran, and then the Greeks in India.[480]

By the middle of the Ist Century B.C. there remained only a few petty Greek chiefs in India, and the power of the Śakas reached Mathurā. The Śakas continued the earlier practice of issuing coins with bilingual legends in Greek and Prakrit. The earliest Śaka king in India was Maues (about C.80 B.C.)[481]

Towards the close of the first Century A.D., the Sātavāhanas were pushed out from the North-West Deccan by the invading Śakas of the Kṣaharāta clan; but the Śatavāhanas under the greatest of their rulers, Gautamīputra Śātakarṇin recovered their lands about A.D. 130. After this event nothing more is heard of the Kṣaharātas.[482]

Another Śaka dynasty, called the Kārddamaka family but generally known as the "Western Satraps", gained control of Kathiawar and Malwa at about the same time, and ruled roughly upto A.D. 400, and at the hight of their power governing much of Rajasthan and Sind also. The greatest ruler of this dynasty was Rudradāman, who has left the earliest important inscription in correct Sanskrit,[483] a long panegyric which records his martial exploits, and his reconstruction of a great artificial lake at Girnar in Kathiawar, which had been excavated under Candragupta and improved in the time of Aśoka. This inscription is among the earliest certainly dated records

of ancient India, and proves that Rudradāman was reigning in A.D. 150.[484]

Samudragupta's main effort was in the direction of the West, where the Śakas had ruled for over 200 years and which was enriched by the lucrative western trade. The Śakas at that time controlled Malwa and Kathiawar and were a power to be reckoned with. 'Though the Allahabad Pillar Inscription claims that Samudragupta received homage from "the Śaka lords", it is probable that he did not measure swords with them'.[485] It is clear that the Śaka homage to Samudragupta was not at all sincere and reliable since it was not tendered to his successor,[486] and Candragupta II had to conquer the Śakas once again.

There is indeed a tradition that on the death of Samudragupta the Śakas succeeded in shaking the Gupta Empire, and forced the weak king, Rāmagupta, to conclude a dishonourable peace.[487] Most authorities reject the story, and deny the historicity of Rāmagupta, but the recent discovery of copper coins bearing his name[488] strengthens the suggestion that the tradition has a basis of fact.[489]

It was Candragupta II (C.376-415), the son of Samudragupta and younger brother of the shadowy Rāmagupta, who finally defeated the Śakas, soon after A.D. 388[490] So he is rightly remembered as '*Śakāri*' 'the enemy of the Śakas'.[491]

The trousers were introduced into India by the Śakas and seem to have been in vogue among the ruling classes during the Gupta times, for Gupta kings often appear on their coins as wearing trousers.[492]

The Śakas were notorious drinkers. It is said that Cyrus defeated the Śakas, when they were maddened by wine.[493] It has been suggested by Buddha Prakash that as a result of the influence of the Śakas, the vogue for excessive drinking spread. Strabo[494] speaks of a Bacchanalian festival of the Persian, in which men and women, dressed in Scythian style passed day and night in drinking and wanton play.[495] We know of similar drinking bouts in the Mahābhārata.[496] Probably the Scythians and the Iranians popularised drinking in the Punjab. The people of the Gangetic country, sticking to pristine ideals of moderation did not relish the exotic drink-

ing bouts popularised in the Punjab, under Śaka and Persian influence. Baudhāyana in his Dharmasūtra, Karṇa in the Mahābhārata, and the Buddha in his discourses denounced drinking and laid down a prohibition against it.[497] But all this is not agreeable since Buddha and Baudhāyana belong to a period before the coming of the Śakas. Āryans have been great lovers of drinking. We can find sufficient evidence for the drinking before Śakas.

We may here refer to the Śaka Era (A.D. 78), which is very popular in India even to-day. Traditionally this era is known to have been founded by a Śaka king who occupied Ujjayinī 137 years after Vikramāditya. The era may in fact have been founded by Kaniṣka. It was certainly used early in the 2nd Centuary A.D. by the "Western Satraps", who ruled Malwa, Kathiawar and Gujarat. Thence, the use of the era spread through the Deccan and was exported to South-East Asia.[498] Because of its long association with the Śaka Satraps the era may have earned its present name.

The Śakas came to be included in the category of the martial classes of ancient India. Manu[499] refers to the warlike people on the fringes of Āryan civilization, including the Greeks (Yavana), the Scyths (Śaka), and the Parthians (Pahlava), as kṣatriyas who had fallen from grace through their neglect of the sacred law, but who could be received once more into Āryan fold by adopting the orthodox way of life and performing appropriate penitential sacrifices.[500]

The Śakas were a white-skinned tribe or race of people; in the legends which relate the contests between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra, the Śakas are fabled to have been produced by the cow of Vasiṣṭha, from her sweat, for the destruction of Viśvāmitra's army.[501]

Buddha Prakash[502] traces the Śaka invasion on the basis of literary and linguistic considerations.

The name of the capital of the *Madras*, Śākala, and that of the region between the Ravi and the Chenab, Śākaladvīpa, are based on the word Śaka and are indicative of a Śaka invasion. Likewise, the name of the clan Śākya, to which Buddha belonged, enshrines a reminiscene of the word Śaka.

Moreover, the place-names ending in *kanthā* existing in the

whole of the Punjab from the Bannu valley to the Kankhala region and even beyond suggest an intrusion of the Śakas long before the time of Pāṇini,[503] who is known to have flourished one century before the invasion of Alexander, the Great. *Kanthā* is a Śaka word for city[504] and is akin to kadhāvara or kanthāvara of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, *Kand* of Persian, *Kanthā* of Khotanese, *Kandh* of Sogdian, *Kandai* of Pushto, *Kanda* or *Koent* of the dialect of the Ṛṣikas. It is significant that the land beyond the Oxus, the *Urheimat* of the Śakas, abounds in *Kanthā*-ending place names, such as Samarkand, Khokand, Chimkand, Tashkand, Panjkand, and Yarkand.

The reference to the stepped-well, called *Śakandhu* after the Śakas, together with that worked by Persian Wheel, known as *Karkandhu* after the Karkians, in a vārttika of Katyāyana[505] also leads to the same conclusion.

At the time of Alexander's invasion the Śakas lived at the north-western borders of India. That this tide of Śaka invasion, descending from the north-west, touched the eastern extremity of India, is manifest from the traditions of the Purāṇas that the Śakas advanced to Ayodhyā during the reign of King Bāhu and that his son Sagara checked and repelled them.[506]

In the Mahābhārata the Śakas are stated to have constituted along with Cūlikas, Tuṣāras and Yavanas, the right wing of the Krauñcavyūha formed by Bhīṣma on the sixth day of the battle.[507] Caraka in his medical treatise[508] refers to them in the context of Central Asiatic tribes, viz. Bāhlika, Pahlava, Cīna, Yavana and Śaka.[509]

Buddha Prakash also tries to trace the remnants of the Śakas in modern times.[510]

The Śakas came into Punjab after the Yavanas or the Greeks. During their long rule they contributed a great deal to Indian culture and ultimately became one with the Indian people.[511] The depth of their influence on Indian society is manifest from the word *thakura*, which implies the ideas of nobility and divinity and stands for the Rajputs in the Punjab and is derived from the word *thagora*, *taugara* or *tukhara*.[512] The name *Tukhāra* itself survives in the name of the *Tokhi* caste found in the North-West.[513] Another caste called Khosla

is a survival of Kusulaka, the surname of the Kṣaharāta chiefs Liaka Kusulaka and his son Patika Kusuluka. Analogous to this word is the name of Kuzula Kadphises the first Kuṣāṇa emperor to advance towards the Punjab. Hultzsch has equated this word with Turki *güjlü* meaning 'strong', and Sten Konow has compared it with Turki *guzel,* meaning 'beautiful', but Lüders has shown that it is the name of a family or clan of the Śakas.[514] So the name of Khosla is a remnant of this tribe.[515] Besides the Thakuras and Tokhis of the Punjab, there are caste-groups of *Soi* and *Sikka,* which are reminiscent of the Śakas.

21. *Sanakānīka* (No. 1, L.22; No.3, L.2) :
In Inscription No.3 it occurs with the short '*i*' in the fourth syllable, i.e. as 'Sanakānika'.[516]

The Sanakānīkas were also subjugated by Samudragupta along with other tribes who payed him all kinds of taxes, obeyed his orders and were coming to perform obeisance.[517] In the Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Candragupta II, of the Year 82 (A.D. 401) (No. 3), we know of a Mahārāja of the 'Sanakānīka' tribe or family, who was a feudatory of Candragupta II and who is stated to have recorded his gift on a Vaiṣṇava Cave temple at Udayagiri.[518] Udayagiri is a well-known hill about two miles to the north-west of Bhilsa, ancient Vidiśā.[519] Thus we can say that the Sanakānīkas lived in the neighbourhood of Bhilsa.[520] D.R. Bhandarkar mentions them to have held the province of Vidiśā but he also locates Gaṇapatināga's kingdom (one of the kings subjugated by Samudragupta) in Vidiśā.[521] So his view seems to be inconsistent.

It may be noted that the Sanakānīka feudatory chief of Candragupta II, as well as his father and grandfather, bore the title Mahārāja. This may suggest that the Sanakānīkas, and probably other tribes mentioned along with them in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription were not tribal republics, as is generally supposed, but were ruled by hereditary chiefs.[522]

The name of the grandfather of this Sanakānīka feudatory chief of Candragupta II, is given as Chagalaga 'which looks like a foreign name';[523] but his father bears a purely Hindu name : 'Viṣṇudāsa'. Of course the present chief's name is illegible in the inscription (No. 3).[524] But considering the trend

it may be surmised that his name also was a Sanskrit name.[525] It seems that the tribe which originally consisted of aboriginal people was gradually coming under the influence of Sanskrit culture.

22. *Vāhlika* (No.20, L.2) :

The Meharaulī Pillar Inscription (No.20) describes the *dig-vijaya* of a king named Candra (i. e. Candragupta II) in the first verse as stated below : "He, on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when, in battle in the Vaṅga countries, he kneaded (and turned) back with (his) breast the enemies who, uniting together, came against him;—he, by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the (river) Sindhu, the Vāhlikas were conquered;—he, by the breezes of whose prowess the Southern ocean is even still perfumed".[526]

We find various readings of the name Vāhlika in literature which are : Vāhlika, Bāhlika, Vāhlīka and Bāhlīka. In our inscription (No. 20) '*Vāhlikāḥ*', i.e. Vāhlika in plural denotes the people of Vāhlika i.e. Bactria (modern Balkh) region on the Oxus in the northern part of Afghanistan.[527]

Mislead by a verse in the Rāmāyaṇa,[528] D.R. Bhandarkar[529] places Vāhlikas in the close proximity of the Vipāśā, the modern Beas. The reading *Vāhlīkān* in the passage quoted from the Rāmāyaṇa is a mistake for *Vāhīkān*. Numerous passages can be quoted from the Epic, Puranic and classical Sanskrit literature to prove that the Punjab=Pañcanada, 'the land of five rivers', was in ancient times called the Vāhīka country.[530]

'*Vāhīka*' was, in fact, a general term for the whole of Punjab. We know Śākala as *Vāhīka-grāma* from Patañjali and also *Pātanaprastha* which is modern Pathankot by the same term. Moreover, Vatsyāyana in his Kāmasūtra and Rajaśekhara in his Kāvya-mīmāṁsā mention the people of Bāhlīka and Punjab as two separate entities.[531]

There is, however, one verse in the Karṇaparvan of the Mahābhārata which suggests that Vāhīka was originally the name of a country or people on the Vipāśā, (the Beas) : "In the Vipāśā, there were two Piśācas named *Vahi* and *Hika*; their descendants are called Vāhīkas who are not the creation of Prajāpati".[532]

Later on the sense of the word expanded to cover all the tribes living in the Punjab. It is interesting to note that the Māhābhārata sometimes uses the terms Vāhīka, Madra, Jartika, Āraṭṭa and Pañcanada synonymously. It appears that the lands of these tribes which lived close to one another became in course of time moulded into a big kingdom under the powerful kings of Śākala (Sialkot). As Vāhīka was beyond Kurukshetra and, therefore, outside the boundary of Brahmāvarta, its analogical connection with the word '*bahis*' may have been another cause of the expansion of its geographical sense.[533] This is also reflected in the Vārttikas of Katyāyana who derives the word 'Vāhīka' from '*vahis*' or '*bahis*', meaning 'outside' (the pale of Āryandom).[534]

Some scholars[535] rely on the description of the Bāhlikas as the offspring of two Piśācas, *Bahi* and *Hika*, as given in the Mahābhārata. Buddha Prakash holds that fresh stream of the Bactrian people which swooped over the Punjab came to be known as Bālhikas; their name which became a general designation for the people of Punjab was later corrupted as Vāhīka.[536] But we have already shown that the two were separate entities.

We know that the Vāhīkas were the people living within the boundaries of the five rivers including the sixth Sindhu (Indus),[537] but according to the Meharaulī Pillar Inscription Candragupta conquered Vāhlikas after crossing the seven mouths of the (river) Indus (sapta mukhāni sindhoḥ).[538] So Vāhlika of our inscription is certainly Balkh in the extreme north of Afghanistan.[539] Bajpai[540] opposes it on the ground that Candragupta could not have gone to so far off a place as Bactria which is situated across the Hindukush and rejects the older contention of scholars that the Kuṣāṇas were ruling in Bactria during king Candra's campaign and that he crossed the Hindukush to crush them.

But the view of Bajpai is not tenable since it is clear from the lines in our inscription[541] that king Candra had conquered the Vāhlikas after crossing the seven mouths of the river Indus.

So far as the literary evidence is concerned we find that Bālhika is the name of a people in the Atharvaveda;[542] here

the fever (Takman) is called upon to go to the *Mūjavants*, the *Mahāvṛṣas*, and the *Balhikas*. The Mūjavants are quite certainly a northern tribe, and though the passage may contain a pun on Bālhika as suggesting 'outsider' (from *bahis*, 'without'),[543] still there is no doubt that the name was chosen from a northern tribe.[544]

The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇā[545] mentions a Kuru king named Balhika Prātipīya. It seems that Balhika was a descendant of Pratīpa. But there is no evidence to show why he bore the name Balhika.[546] He is perhaps the same as Mahārāja Bāhlika Prātīpeya of the Mahābhārata.[547]

The Rāmāyaṇa shows that the Royal Kuru family originally migrated from the Bāhlīka country. The passage in question[548] says that Ila, son of the Prajāpati Kardama, who was the king of the Vāhli country, gave up Bahlika in favour of his son Śaśavindu, and founded a new city Pratiṣṭhānapura in the Madhya-deśa, where his other son Pururava Aila continued to rule. This links up the Ailas, the progenitor of the Kurus, with the Kardama royal family of Bāhli. H.C. Raychaudhuri[549] suggests that Kārddama, the name of the ruling family of Vāhlika, was obtained from the river of that name in Persia, and thus infers that the home of the Kārddama king is to be identified with Bahlika or Balkh in Iran. This view was earlier advocated by Roth[550] and Weber.[551] But Zimmer[552] rightly shows that there is no need to assume any Iranian influence.[553]

We know Vāhlīka from the Puranic list of peoples.[554] The Account of fifty-six countries[555] is interesting as it mentions them with the Hūṇas, Kauravas, Gāndhāras and Vidarbhas among others. In the Śaktisaṅgama Tantra[556] Bāhlīka is described as famous for horses and situated to the east of Mahāmlechha and beginning with Kamboja. B.C. Law on the basis of reference in the Mahābhārata[557] places the Vāhlikas in the neighbourhood of Gandhar and Kamboja.[558]

Katyāyana (4th century B.C.)[559] mentions Bāhlāyana and derives it from the word Bāhli, a country also mentioned in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.[560]

The Vāyu Purāṇa, Śiva Purāṇā, Kāvya-Mīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara and the Rāmāyaṇa[561] place the Vāhlika country in the

northern division.[562] Bāhlika is the name of a person in the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa.[563] The Nāṭyaśāstra[564] of Bharata says that Bāhlikabhāṣā was spoken by the northern people (Udīcyas). A similar reference is also to be found in the Sāhitya-darpaṇa.[565]

In the Kāmasūtra of Vatsyāyana,[566] Bāhlīka is grouped with Strīrājya, which occurs in the list of North-Western division. The peculiar custom in Bāhlika of several young men being married to a single woman as in *strīrājya (strīrājye ca Bāhlike* . . . . .), appears to be an outlandish custom prevailing in the regions to the west of India.[567] The Jayamaṅgalā commentary also says that Bāhlīka was in Uttarāpatha.[568]

We find the word Vāhlika occurring in the Amara-kośa in two ways :

1. *Bāhlika*[569]
2. *Bāhlīka*[570]

The Amarakośa shows that Bāhlīka was famous for horses, saffron and Ferula Asafoetida (*hiṅgu*).

The reference to saffron leads us to the filaments of saffron on the banks of Vaṅkṣu (oxus) where Raghu gave defeat to the Hūṇas as described in Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa.[571] The reading Sindhu of the passage[572] is plainly a mistake for Vaṅkśu which is corroborated by Kṣīrasvāmin, the earliest commentator of Amara who clearly shows that the Bāhlīka country was bordered on the Oxus.[573]

The Bṛhatsaṁhitā[574] places Bāhlīkas in the jurisdiction of the Sun. Ancient tradition connects the Bāhlikas with the Dhārṣṭakas, a Kṣatriya clan which occupied the Bāhlīka country.[575] We know that Bāhlīkī was another name of Mādrī, queen of the Madras.[576]

Buddha Prakash suggests that the Vedic school of the *Bhāllavin*s enshrined the memory of the Bāhlīkas; the modern sub-castes of the Barasarin sub-group of the khatris Bhalla and Behl represent the ancient Bālhīkas, and the Jāṭ clans of Bhālār and Bhalerah, found in Multan, the Baloch tribe Bhalkā, living in Sindh, Bahawalpur and Dera Ghazi Khan and the clan Bhallowana, found in Shahpur, are remnants of the far-flung Bāhlīka tribes.[577] There is a possibility of the Bāhlīkas migrating from their original home Balkh to the Punjab.[578]

When Hieun Tsang visited Balkh, it was a centre of Buddh-

ist faith,[579] but after the overthrow of the Sassanid kingdom by the Arabs, the ancient Bactria along with the adjoining territories passed under the control of Khorasan, the seat of the Muhammadan power.[580]

23. *Yaudheya* (No. 1, L. 22) :
The Yaudheyas are included among the tribes subjugated by Samudragupta. In his time, they seem to have occupied northern Rajputana and south-east Punjab, and their territory extended up to the confines of the Bahawalpur State where their name survives in the name of the tract called Johiyawar.[581] Their earliest reference in the inscriptions is found in the Junāgaṛh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I (A.D. 150)[582] which mentions the victory of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman over the Yaudheyas who were 'proud of their heroism'. The Bijayagadh Inscription[583] which is a record of the Yaudheyas (in Brāhmī characters of the second-third century A.D.)[584] connects them with Bharatpur State in Rajputana. It refers to one Mahārāja Mahāsenāpati, the ruler of the Yaudheya-gaṇa.[585]

Literally the word *Yaudheya* means 'a warrior' which corresponds with the *Ossadū* of Arrian, the *Sambastae* of Diodorus and the *Sambracae* of Curtius, who made their submission to Alexander.[586] They were a powerful nation and their forces consisted of 60,000 foot, 6000 horse, and 500 chariots.[587]

We get three different versions about the origin of the Yaudheyas :

(i) In the Mahābhārata[588] it is stated that Yudhiṣṭhira married the daughter of the Śaivya King Govāsana named Devikā and begot a son from her named Yaudheya.

Buddha Prakash [589] and M.K. Sharan,[590] on this basis, have been tempted to connect the Yaudheyas with Yudhiṣṭhira, the eldest of the Pāṇḍava brothers. D.K. Gupta questions the foundations of this theory on this solitary basis in the absence of a more solid or a positive evidence;[591] but on the other hand he himself has indulged in connecting the Ārjunāyanas with the epic hero Arjuna.[592]

(ii) The Viṣṇu-Purāṇa gives a contrary view of the same story. It states that *Yaudheyī* was the queen of Yudhiṣṭhira from whom he had a son named Devaka [593]

(iii) The Harivaṁśa[594] and the Vāyu Purāṇa[595] state that King Uśīnara of the Puru dynasty had five queens named Nṛgā or Mṛgā, Kṛmī, Navā, Darvā and Dṛṣadvatī who gave birth to five sons named Nṛga, (or Mṛga), Kṛmi, Nava, Suvrata and Śibi (or Śivi) respectively. Śibi was the lord of the Śibi people or of the city of Śivapura, while Nṛga (or Mṛga) was the ruler of the Yodheyas or of Yaudheyapura. The other three sons of Uśīnara, viz., Nava, Kṛmi and Suvrata, were the lords respectively of Navarāṣṭra, Kṛmilāpurī and Ambaṣṭhapurī.[596] According to Pargiter, King Uśīnara established the Yaudheyas, Ambaṣṭhas, Navarāṣṭra, and the city of Kṛmilā, all on the eastern border of the Punjab; while his famous son Śivi Auśīnara originated the Śivis or Śibis in Sivapura.[597]

It is very difficult to reject or accept the Puranic tradition without any further evidence. However, as regards their connection with Uśīnara, we may say that scholars are somewhat confused by differing versions by varied text with regard to the territory ruled over by him.[598] The Ṛgveda, the Jātakas as well as the accounts of Fahien and Hiuen Tsang connect the Uśīnaras with a region farther to the north-west in Swat Valley, a part of the ancient Mahājanapada of Gandhāra; while the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the Kauśītakī Upaniṣad and the Kathāsaritsāgara associate them to the region north of Haridwar near the source of Ganges at Kanakhala.

It is possible that originally they were settled in the Swat Valley but by the passage of time, they migrated to other places as well. For example, we find that the Śibis were known to Alexander's followers, living between the Indus and the Akesines (Chenab).[599]

In the Mahābhārata,[600] the Yaudheyas are described as having been defeated by Arjuna, along with the Mālavas and Trigarttas. In the Sabhāparvan,[601] the Yaudheyas together with the Śibis and the Trigarttas are represented as having paid homage to Yudhiṣṭhira. In the Droṇaparvan,[602] we find that an epithet '*Adrija*' meaning 'mountain-born', is used for the Yaudheyas.

The Yaudheyas were one of the republican tribes of the

Punjab. Pāṇini[603] includes them among the *āyudhajīvī saṁghas* together with the Parśus who are considered to be Persians by Dr. Buddha Prakash.[604] Pāṇini mentions the Yaudheyas in another Sūtra also.[605] Kauṭilya also refers to the Yaudheya as a warrior clan of the Punjab.[606]

The Bṛhatsaṁhitā[607] places them in the northern division of India and describes them as being in the region of Bṛhaspati.[608]

In the Sāhityadarpaṇa of Viśvanātha, they are described as interested in gambling (*dīvyatām*) and speaking the Southern Vaidarbhī.[609]

Yaudheya coins have been found all over the area from Saharanpur to Multan. In the Ludhiana district have been unearthed their votive tablets. A rich find of their coin-moulds was brought to light by B. Sahni at Khokrakot near Rohtak where there seems to have existed a regular mint.[610] Their new currency[611] depicting their tutelary deity Kārttikeya which replaced the Kuṣāṇa currency in these regions, shows that they played a leading part in the extermination of Śaka rule in India.[612] The findings of the Yaudheya coins in large number at Saharanpur, Dehradoon, Delhi, Rohtak and Kangra attest the fact that they had driven out the Kuṣāṇas from these areas and had re-established themselves firmly, in the 3rd-4th century A.D.[613]

One of their seals, bearing the legend "*Yaudheyānām jayamantradharāṇām*" [614] shows that they were held in high esteem among the warrior-clans of the Punjab. Some scholars seem to be confused about its interpretation. Shobha Mukerji[615] opines that their coins were issued in the name of the gaṇa as well as the Mantra-dharas. M.K. Sharan[616] explains the word "*Mantradhara*" to mean the members of the Executive Committee "those vested with the policy of the state". He is of the opinion that one set of the Yaudheya coins is struck in the name of the "*Mantradharas*" and the "*Gaṇa*", while the other set is struck simply in the name of Gaṇa.[617] He seems to have wrongly substituted the reading "*Mantradhāra*" for "*Mantradhara*". He has been arbitrary in separating "*Jaya*" from *Mantradharāṇām*"[618] which forms a compound by the combination of the two words. Further he rejects the view of some historians who consider the word "*Mantradharāṇām*" to mean

'those who were in possession of Victory Charm'. But he contradicts himself at another place while explaining a seal[619] found at Naurangabad with the remarks : "This seal indicates the bravery of the tribe and that they were never defeated as they had adopted the title of 'जयमन्त्रधराः' ".

Actually the expression may mean 'the Yaudheyas who knew the secret of victory'. It is symbolic of their victory and pride that they never got defeated.

Another word which has raised some controversy among the scholars is "*Darma*" found on some of the Yaudheya coins. Some scholars take it to mean Dharma while others take it for '*Dama*' or '*Darma*' to be a Sanskritised form of Greek—"*Drachma*".[620] Again some controversy arose whether it was a Copper one or of silver.[621] The word '*Damma*' or '*Dramma*' has been used for a gold coin.[622] It may be remarked that the word borrowed from some foreign language may not strictly be used in the original sense and hence it may simply mean coin.[623] The Kuṣāṇas had introduced gold-coins which were later on adopted by the Guptas. But the Yaudheyas seem to have never adopted the gold currency since so far we have found no gold coin belonging to them. This may speak of their weaker economic condition ; surely they could not compare with powerful monarchies. On some of the Yaudheya coins, we have the mysterious words, "*dvi*" (two) and "*tri*" (three) after the legend "*Yaudheyagaṇasya jayaḥ*" which may point out their making a confederation with other tribes, viz., the Ārjunāyanas and the Kuṇindas.[624] They seem to have controlled the area lying on the banks of the river Sutlej up to the borders of the Bahawalpur State which is still called Johiyawar. The word '*Johiya*' is apparently an abbreviation of '*Jodhiya*', which is the Sanskrit Yaudheya.[625] Cunningham, however, takes the words '*dvi*' and '*tri*' of the above-mentioned coins to signify 'the money of the second and third tribes of the Yaudheyas'.[626]

M.K. Sharan[627] has enlisted about twenty-four types and Symbols on the coins of the Yaudheyas which may point to their religious leanings as well bear out some aspects of their social life. They are as follows :

1. Bull
2. Elephant

3. Deer
4. Peacock
5. Tree-in-railing
6. Human figure standing (warrior)
7. Lakṣmī
8. Cobra
9. Scythic-like object(Yūpa)
10. Stūpa
11. Triśūla
12. Nandipada
13. Shell
14. Svastika
15. Vase or Maṅgala Kalaśa
16. Tribal sign or Ujjayinī Symbol
17. Two '*s*' with a line in between probably representing two hooded snakes
18. Triangular-headed symbol or more probably a Yūpa
19. Zig-Zag line depicting snake or river
20. Circles with dots around, probably representing the sun
21. Curved object within railing, probably a representation of the Yūpa
22. Hill so-called Caitya
23. Six-headed Ṣaṣṭhī or Kṛttikā[628]
24. Śiva.

CONCLUSION

We have discussed the following names of the tribes :

1. Ābhīra
2. Ārjunāyanas
3. Āṭavikas
4. Daivaputra
5. Hūṇa
6. Kākas
7. Kharaparikas
8. Kotas
9. Kurus
10. Licchavis
11. Madrakas
12. Mālava
13. Mleccha
14. Muruṇḍas
15. Prārjunas
16. Puṣyamitras
17. Ṣāhānuṣāhi
18. Ṣāhi
19. Saiṁhalaka
20. Śaka
21. Sanakānīka
22. Vāhlīka
23. Yaudheya

Among these the Ābhīra, Ārjunāyanas, Āṭavikas, Kākas, Kharaparikas, Kotas, Kurus, Licchavis, Madrakas, Mālava, Prārjunas, Puṣyamitras, Sanakānīkas and Yaudheyas are the indigenous tribes while the Daivaputra, Hūṇa, Mleccha, Muruṇḍas, Ṣāhānuṣāhi, Ṣāhi, Saiṁhalaka, Śaka, and Vāhlīka represent the foreign stock.

We have seen how some of these tribes migrated to places other than their original settlements and gave their names to

the janapadas they settled. They replaced the old Vedic tribes in Punjab and Rajasthan though some of them are deemed as offshoots of the main tribe. The Prārjunas, Sanakānīkas, Kākas and Kharaparikas may be later tribes since they find hardly any mention in the ancient texts. The Madrakas who were a branch of the Śālvas (who had a totemic origin) and the Licchavis who had legendary origin as a result of an incestuous union between brother and sister may even be predated to Āryan way of life, indicating the period of totemic worship and when there was no conscious taboo on incest. About the foreign tribes mentioned above we find that the Śakas influenced India so much that the Purāṇa-writers included *Śaka-dvīpa* in the Bhuvanakośa section. There are probabilities of the Hūṇa and Vāhlīka settlements in the Punjab and some territories known after them. The title Ṣāhi was supplanted by the Hūṇas and Turks in their administrative systems. After the Āryans migrated to the east, the lands in the North-West were looked at with contempt, by the easterners and were labelled as the Mleccha lands. The term Mleccha was generally used for the foreigners who did not come under the pale of Āryandom. Hence the people in the North-West who came under foreign influence and were liberalized in their outlook, were also terms as the Mlecchas. Thus we find that the process of political and the ethnic transformation continued.

Not only that we find that the majority of the above-mentioned tribes were Āryanized, some under the Vrātya variety while others under the *Vṛṣala* system. The Hūṇas and the Śakas were admitted to the Kṣatriya stock while the Śaka-brāhmaṇas known as the Magas were brahmanised. Many pre-Āryan names were Sanskritized but some names retained their old forms; the names like the Licchavis, Ābhīra, etc., cannot be explained through the root and suffix of Āryan language.[629]

Thus we see that the ethnic, geographical and cultural factors differentiated one tribe from the other. The use of the terms Ārya, Anārya, Mleccha, Vrātya and Vṛṣala prove it beyond doubt. But there was interaction among these tribes and the tribes which interacted later survived as castes. Most of these tribes represented the Little Tradition and were absorbed into the Great Tradition. Some of their cults and their

gods became a part of the main-stream of the Āryan society.

The Linguistic Survey of India has shown a survival of India's *janapada*s through the long periods of time. The areas of Indian dialects and languages as they are found today correspond, in a striking manner, to the ancient or medieval *janapada*s or *janapada-saṁghāta*s (federations of *Janapada*s). Even the Janapadas of the *mahā-Janapada*s of the sixth century B.C. comprised small areas. 'The ancients were not great conquerors' declared Bāṇa, an author of the seventh century A.D., 'for in a small area of land, they had number of kings'.[630] By the close of the Gupta period, however, the *Janapada*s had grown sufficiently in size, and in the middle ages they came to be almost what we find them today.[631]

It may also be conceded that the gaṇa states of the Yaudheyas, Mālavas and Licchavis were not democracies or republics in the sense in which we understand these words today. Supreme and ultimate power did not lie vested in the whole body of adult citizens. We can still describe these states as republics. Standard works and authorities on the political science define republic as a state, where the sovereign power vests, not in a single person as in monarchy, but in a group or college of persons, more or less numerous. Oligarchies, aristocracies, and democracies have all been labelled as republics.[632]

In any case modern India may take legitimate pride in the fact that, though she may not have had democracies in the modern sense, government by discussion was by no means unknown in her ancient civilization.[633]

Finally we may say that Samudragupta did not destroy the Mālavas, Ārjunayānas, the Yaudheyas and the Madras to extinction; they had become tributary but retained their internal autonomy. Their territories were never directly administered by the Guptas, and so their republican institutions could not have been much affected.

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   S.B. Chaudhuri, Jx. Introduction p. xiv;
   A. Ghosh, Vz. p. 33.
2. Aṣṭādhyāyī, 1/2/52 and 1/2/55.

3. A.S. Altekar, (Kz)[2], p. 118.
4. D.C. Sircar, **Hz**. p. 36, Thirteenth Rock Edict, LL. 9-10.
5. Ibid., p. 17, Second Rock Edict.
6. Aṣṭādhyāyī, 4/1/168 to 4/1/178.
7. K.P. Jayaswal, **Ux**. (edn. 1924) p. 156.
8. Romila Thapar, **C**. p. 50.
9. Ibid., p. 51.
10. Shobha Mukerji, **Lg**. p. 132;
Cf. R.C. Majumdar, **Cx**. (edn. 1922) p. 257.
11. Arthaśāstra : XI. 1. 160
12. Ibid., XI.1.160-61.
13. A.L. Basham, **Qg**. p. 97.
14. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 3.14; A.S. Altekar, (**Kz**)[2] (edn. 1972), p. 117.
15. A.S. Altekar, op. cit., p. 125.
16. **Vx**. pp. 422-23.
17. V. 3. 114.
18. Amarakośa, II/8/3-4; A.S. Altekar, (**Kz**)[2] (edn. 1972), p. 114.
19. A.S. Altekar, (**Kz**)[2], p. 109:
देव केचिद्देशा गणाधीनाः केचिद्राजाधीनाः । Avadānaśataka, II, p. 103.
20. Ibid.,(**Kz**)[2], pp. 109-111.
21. D.C. Sircar, **Oz**. p.23, note 7.
22. Ibid., **Ly**. p. 2.
23. Ahīra being the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word Ābhīra.
24. B.C. Law, **Tg**. p. 79.
25. A.L. Basham, **Qg**. pp. 195, 305.
26. Govinda 'Lord of Herdsman' which literally in Sanskrit means 'cow-finder'. It seems to be a Prakrit word whose correct Sanskrit equivalent should be 'Gopendra'.
27. IX, 37. 1.
28. **Qy**. pp. 136, 139-40.
29. R.K. Mookerji, **Ag**. pp. 25-26;
B.C. Law, **Tg**. pp. 80-81.
30. I.2.3.
31. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg**. pp. 50-51.
32. Kāmasūtra (ed. Pañcanan Tarkaratna), pp. 289, 308;
S.B. Chaudhuri, **Jx**. p. 45, note 14.
33. Chap. 57, Vs. 35-48; chap. 58, v. 22.
34. Chap. 45, 126.
35. XVI, p. 135, v. 31.
36. GJ. IX, p. 279.
37. V. I., 247.
38. GJ. XXV, p. 203.
39. Sāhitya-Darpaṇa (ed.) Satya Vrat Singh, p. 472, V. 163 :
आभीरेषु तथाभीरी ताण्डाली पुक्कसादिषु ।
आभीरी शाबरी चापि काष्ठपात्रोपजीविषु ॥

40. Kavyādarśa, 1.36 : आभीरादिगिरः काव्येष्वपभ्रंश इति स्मृतः ।
41. JJ. Vol. XXVII, March 1951;
"Observations on the sources of Apabhraṁśa stanzas of Hemacandra", p.19.
42. 2.6.13
43. 2.9.57
44. 2.2.50
45. Robert Shafer, **Kx.** p. 67.
46. Ibid., p. 67, note 6.
47. J.N. Bhattacharya, **Tx.** p. 297.
48. Pargiter, **Kg.**, pp. 2-3.
49. Ibid., pp. 54-55.
50. Mahābhārata, XVI, 7.63.
51. X.15.
52. S.B. Chaudhuri, **Jx.** pp. 191-92:
B.C. Law, **Tg.** pp. 96-97.
53. XIV, p. 120, v. 12.
54. Robert Shafer, **Kx.** pp. 119-20.
55. For Ānavas, see Ibid, pp. 21-22.
56. I.112,23; IV.26.1.
57. Buddha Prakash, **(Zy.)**[1] p. 93.
S.B. Chaudhury, **Jx.** p. 92.
B.C. Law, **Tg.** p. 95.
58. Ṛgveda, VIII, 1.11; Yajurveda, X.21; Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, II, 1, 2-11; V.4.3.7.
59. Sten Konow, **Dz.** p. 115.
Dx. Introduction, p. 61.
60. Mahābhārata, Virāṭaparvan, IV. 39.18 :
पृथिव्यां चतुरन्तायां वर्णो मे दुर्लभः समः ।
करोमि कर्म शुक्लं च तेन मामर्जुनं विदुः ॥
61. Buddha Prakash, **(Zy.)**[1] p. 95.
62. Buddha Prakash, *Studies in Indian History and Civilisation* pp. 248-249.
63. Buddha Prakash, 'Central Asia, the Crucible of Cultures' **SJ.** Vol. XV (1956), p. 54.
64. A part of which has been published and translated by F.W.K. Muller.
65. Buddha Prakash, **(Zy.)**[1] p. 94.
66. Ibid.
67. Pāṇini, IV. 3.98.
V.S. Agrawala, **Jy.** p. 341.
68. Buddha Prakash, **(Zy.)**[1] p. 93.
69. V.S. Agrawala, **Jy.** p. 30.
70. R.C. Majumdar, **L.** p. 105.
71. XIV, p. 122, v. 25.
72. Bṛhatsaṁhitā, XVI, p. 133, v. 22.

73. R.K. Mookerji, **Ag.** p. 25.
74. H.C. Raychaudhuri, **Az.** (5th edn.), p. 545.
75. V.A. Smith, **X.** p. 160.
76. No. 1, L. 21 : परिचारकीकृत-सर्व्वाटविक-राजस्य:

In परिचारकीकृत we find the use of च्वि suffix which shows that he made them to become his servants who were not his servants.

77. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 395, L. 8 :
साष्टादशाटवी–राज्याभ्यन्तरं डभाला–राज्यमन्वयागतम्।
78. Ibid., p. 395, note 3.
79. **G.J.** XXXVIII, p. 331 : तोसल्यां साष्टादशाटवीराज्यां,
80. Sabhāparvan, XXX, 1176.
81. B.C. Law, **Tg.** p. 383.
82. D.D. Kosambi, **(Xz)**[1], (edn. 1975), p. 151.
83. D.C. Sircar, **Oz.** p. 21.
84. Bṛhat-Saṁhitā, XIV, p. 122, Vs. 29, 30.
85. Cf. Fleet, **(Dx)**[1]. p. 13, note 7.
86. Robert Shafer, **Kx.** p. 59.
87. See the Appendix No. IV.
88. It has been used by Kaniṣka, Vāsiṣka, Huviṣka, and Kaniṣka II in their epigraphic records; See D.C. Sircar, **Hz.** For Kaniṣka—pp. 138-39, 144-45; For Vāsiṣka—pp. 149-50; For Huviṣka—pp. 152-53, 157; For Kaniṣka II—p. 154.
89. F.W. Thomas,**P.** Part II. p. 305; Cf. Mookerji, **Ag.** p. 27.
90. A.K. Narain, **Fg.**, p. 50.
91. F.W. Thomas, **P.** Part II, p. 305.
92. Nos. 422, 500, 572, Vide : **Py.** pp. 112-113.
93. F.W. Thomas, **P.** Part II, p. 305 :
In Homer the kings are 'Zeus-born', the title god was born by Ptolemy, VI, in 164-146 B.C., as also by a Parthian Arsakes on the Indian border; earlier Parthian kings (Mithradates II, Mithradates III, Phreates II and III) bore the title 'god-fathered'. In India every king was *deva.*
94. Ṛgveda, X, 62.4.
95. Cf. **JJ.** I, p. 259 : The whole expression *Daivaputra-ṣāhiṣāhānuṣāhi* corresponds with the full royal insignia '*Daivaputra-mahārāja-rājātirāja*' of the later Greek Kuṣāṇas
96. F.W. Thomas, **P.** Part II, pp. 307-19.
Cf. Manu, VII. 3.
97. Ibid., p. 307.
98. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.** pp. 138-57.
99. F.W. Thomas, **P.** Part II, p. 311. Candana in connection with Kaniṣka denotes Chen-t'an—*cīna-sthāna,* i.e. Chinese Turkestan.
100. Ibid., p. 312: For the inscription, see **UJ.** 1914, pp. 973-7; Konow, **Dx.** pp. 70-77.
101. F.W. Thomas, **P.** Part II, p. 313.
102. Maharaja-Kanika-lekh, v. 47.

103. F.W. Thomas, **P.** Part II, p. 310.

104. **Fz.** p. 256 : Karṇa as the son of god Sūrya;
Ibid., p. 758; Bhīma as the son of god Vāyu;
Ibid., p. 855; Yudhiṣṭhira as the son of god Dharma or Yama;
Ibid., p. 1288 : Hanuman as the son of Pavana or Maruta, 'the Wind'.

105. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.** pp. 16-33.

106. No. 54, L. 2 : Devaputravat—one having divine sons (disciples); D.C. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 331.

107. No. 13, L. 15 : हूणैर्य्यस्य समागतस्य समरे दोर्म्यां धरा कंपिता भीमावर्त्तकरस्य—

108. R.B. Pandey, **Wx.** p. 101, f.n. 3.

109. Uigur transcriptions of Chinese, Chinese terms from J.J.M.De Groot '*Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit*' (Berlin, Leipzig, 1921), Vol. I, pp. 1ff.

110. Robert Shafer, **Kx.** p. 155, f.n.1.

111. Ibid., pp. 155-56

112. Ibid., p. 156.

113. Ibid.

114. "Huns and Hsiung-nu", Byzantion 17 (1944-45), pp. 222-243

115. Ibid., p. 224.

116. La haute Asie (1931), p. 6.

117. Oriens I (1948), pp, 208-219.

118. In Der Islam 29 (1949), pp. 244-246.

119. See Robert Shafer, **Kx.** pp. 156-57.

120. Jarl Charpentier, "The original Home of the Indo-Europeans", **EJ.** Vol. IV, 1926-28, p. 165.

121. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg.** p. 194.

122. D.C. Sircar, **Oz.** p. 101.

123. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg.** p.194.

124. **(Dx)**[1], p. 158.

125. Ibid., p. 161.

126. **LJ.** LXIII. 186; **JJ.** XII, 531.

127. **GJ.** I. 239.

128. **NJ.** XIV, 28ff.

129. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg.** p. 136.

130. **NJ.** XVIII, 203.

131. **HJ.** XV, 245.

132. **JJ.** XII, 532.

133. **Wz.** p. 59.

134. Upendra Thakur, **Dg.** Foreword, p.v.

135. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg.** p. 197; **Qz.** p. 58.

136. **(Dx)**[1] pp. 142 ff.

137. Ibid : ये भुक्ता गुप्तनाथैर्न्न सकल-वसुधाक्क्रान्ति-दृष्ट-प्रतापैर्न्नाज्ञा हूणाधिपानां—

138. Ibid., pp. 146-147, L. 6.

139. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg.** 196 :
V. pp. 549-50;
B.C. Law, **Tg.** p. 58.

140. Ibid., **Pg**. p. 199.
141. Ibid., pp. 184-85.
142. D.C. Sircar, **Oz**. pp. 24, 36-37, 38.
143. Raghuvaṁśa, IV. 68.
144. Ibid :
तत्र हूणावरोधानां भर्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम् ।
कपोलपाटलादेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम् ॥
145. Bṛhatsaṁhitā, XVI. v. 38, p. 136.
146. Ibid., XIV. v. 27, p. 122.
147. Upendra Thakur, **Dg**. p.46.
148. Ibid., See Foreword by D.C. Sircar, pp. v-viii.
149. VI. 9.64.
150. B.C. Law, **Tg**. p. 356.
151. **UJ**. 1897, pp. 892-9.
152. B.C. Law, **Tg**. p. 356, note 4.
153. R.K. Mookerji, **Ag**. p. 26.
R.S. Tripathi, **Zx**. p. 245.
154. **JJ**. I, p.258.
155. **GJ**. XII, p. 46, v.5.
156. **Fz**. p. 337, col. 3.
157. LVIII, 47.
158. A variant reading is '*Svarasāgararāśī*'.
159. CXXI, 56.
160. B.C. Law, **Tg**. p.356.
161. K.P. Jayaswal, **Ux**. (edn. 1924), p. 156.
162. No. 1, L. 14 : दण्डैग्रह्यितैव कोत-कुलजं पुष्पाह्वये क्रीडता—
163. R.K. Mookerji, **Ag**. p.14.
164. **E**. 'The Kaumudīmahotsava as a Historical Play', p. 120.
165. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg**. pp. 139-40.
166. Ibid, p. 140; S.R. Goyal, **D**. pp. 140-141; **NJ**. pp. 113, 119.
167. Fleet, **(DX)**[1], p. 5.
168. Ibid., p. 12; also see Pāṭaliputra in the place-names.
169. S.R. Goyal, **D**. p. 140.
170. U.N. Roy, **Lz**. p. 93.
171. Fleet, **(Dx)**[1], p.260, note 4.
172. No. 22, L. 7 : स उत्तराणां सदृशे कुरूणां उदग्दिशा-देशवरे प्रसूत: ।
173. B.C. Law, **Tg**. p.18.
174. Ṛgveda, X, 33, 4. It may also mean 'the hearer of (the praises of) the Kurus'.
175. Ibid, VIII, 3.21.
176. XX, 127, 7; Khil. V. 10.
177. XIII, 5, 4.
178. Buddha, pp. 403-404.
179. **Vg**. Vol. I, p. 167.
180. III, 23.
181. **Vg**. Vol. I, p. 167.

182. Ibid., pp. 165-66.
183. VIII, 14.
184. **Vg**. Vol. I, p. 168.
185. Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, III, 2, 3, 15.
186. **Vg**. Vol. I, p. 168;
S.B. Chaudhuri, Jx. p. 35;
V. Vol. I, p. 47.
187. VIII. 14.
188. VIII. 23.
189. **Vg**. Vol. I, p. 84;
Zimmer, Altindisches Leben, 101, 102.
190. B.C. Law, **Tg**. pp. 21-22. See the reference to Kurudīpa, Dīpavaṁśa, p. 16; and the statement in the Sāsanavaṁśa, p. 12, that the place of the inhabitants of Uttaradīpa is called the kingdom of Kurus (Kururaṭṭham).
191. Shama Shastri's Translation of Arthaśāstra, p. 455.
192. Ibid., I, p. 29.
193. Robert Shafer, **Kx**. pp. 30-31.
194. Ibid, p. 31, notes 2, 3.
Alfred Lüdwig first interpreted *Kuru* as 'red' and later as 'brown'.
195. R.C. Majumdar, Pg. p. 129; Pathak takes the word *dauhitra* in the technical sense of *Putrikā-putra* who was called *dvāmuṣyāyaṇa*, i.e., a person having dual parentage and possessing dual hereditary rights of both the natural father and the maternal grandfather. (**TJ**. XIX pt. II, pp. 140-41); See also S.R. Goyal, **D**. pp. 90-91, note 2.
196. Fleet, (**Dx**)[1] Introduction, pp. 134-36.
197. No. I, L. 22.
198. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg**. p. 130.
199. B.C. Law, **Tg**. p. 332.
200. Ibid., p. 315 ;
Gx. p. 295 Smith holds that Candragupta, a local Rājā at or near Pāṭaliputra, married Kumāradevī, a princess belonging to the Licchavi clan, in or about the year 308.
201. Yogendra Mishra, **F**. pp. 106-12;
B.C. Law, **Tg**. pp. 295-96 :
Medhātithi and Govindarāja, the two earliest commentators of the Manu-smṛti, read Licchavi and this reading tallies exactly with the name as given by Kauṭilya. Therefore, this form represents the earliest spelling of this word in the Brahmanical Sanskrit literature. It is only Kullūka Bhaṭṭa, the Bengali Commentator of the fifteenth century, who reads Nicchivi in a verse of Manu (X.22). This was due to a confusion between '*la*' and '*na*' of the fifteenth century in the Bengali language. Moreover, these letters are frequently inter-changed in our tongues as we know from our common experience.
202. Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra, ed. R. Shama Shastri, p. 455.
The Sanskrit Text has: लिच्छिविक-वृजिक-मल्लक-कुकुर-कुरु–
पांचालादयो राजशब्दोपजीविनः

The '*ka*' at the end of Licchavi, etc. is adjectival.

203. Ibid.

204. 'Notes on the Vajji Country and the Mallas of Pava' **NJ.** Vol. VI, Pt. II, June 1920, pp. 259 ff.

205. B.C. Law, **Tg.** p. 295, note 4.

206. Rhys Davids, **T.** pp. 25-26, 40;
Chaudhuri, **Jx** pp. 164-65.

207. H.C. Raychaudhuri, **Az.** p. 101.

208. Yogendra Mishra, **F.** pp. 106-112.

209. B.G. Gokhale, **Ez.** pp.27-28; B.C. Law, **Tg.** pp. 299-300.

210. B.G. Gokhale, **Fz.** pp. 27-28.

211. Yogendra Mishra, **F.** pp. 106-112.

212. Beal, Gg. Introduction, p. XXII.

213. Ibid, f.n. 1.

214. B.C. Law, **Tg.** pp. 302-4.

215. Yogendra Mishra, **F.** pp. 106-112.

216. **HJ.** Vol. XXXVII, 19.8, p.79.

217. Yogendra Mishra, **F.** pp. 106-112;
Law, **Tg.** pp. 303-4.

218. Ibid., f.n. 2; B.C. Law, **Tg.** pp. 297-98.

219. B.D. Gokhale, **Ez.** pp. 27-28'

220. Manu, X. 22.

221. Ibid., 20.

222. According to Bühler: the Manusmṛti was compiled at some time between 200 B.C. and A.D. 200 (Bühler, Manu, Introduction, p. CCVII).

223. B.C. Law. **Tg.** pp. 301-2.

224. B.G. Gokhale, **Ez.** pp. 27-28.

225. A.C. Banerjea, **Nz.**' 'The Vrātya Problem'', pp. 81-171.

226. Ibid., pp. 88-89.

227. Ibid., pp. 96-97.

228. **HJ.** Vol. XXXVII, p. 79;
Fleet, **(Dx)**[1] Introduction, p. 135.

229. Ch. 34, Kāṇḍa 7, verse 25.

230. B.C. Law, **Tg.** pp. 298-99.
Yogendra Mishra, **F.** pp. 106-12.

231. S.B. Chaudhuri, **Jx.** pp. 91, 115; Pargiter, **M.** p. 264.

232. Buddha Prakash, **(Zy.)**[1] p. 111.

233. II. 52. 1870.

234. J. Przyluski, **N.** p. 4.

235. Mahābhārata, I. 121. 4695.

236. J. Przyluski, **N.** p. 4.

237. चन्द्रव्याकरण 11,4,103:
उदुम्बरास्तिलखला मद्रकारा युगन्धरा ।
भूलिगा शरदण्डाश्च साल्वावयव संज्ञिता: ॥

Buddha Prakash connects Yugandhara with modern Jagadhari in Punjab:
Buddha Prakash, **(Zy.)**[1] p. 110.

238. J. Przyluski, 'Les Salvasa' Journal Asiatique (1929), pp. 312-325.
239. J. Przyluski, N. p. 4.
240. XIV, 2, p. 119; XIV, 27, p. 122.
241. Buddha Prakash, (Zy.)[1] p. 107.
242. See Ibid., p. 112;

Also See N.L. De in JJ. II, 131, who connects them with *Media* or '*mad*'and its division Azerbijan which resolves into *Airyana-vīja* (Āryan seed) from its Avestan name *Āryavaijam.*

243. B.C. Law, **Tg.** p.54. Also see H.C. Ray, I.J. (New Series, Vol. XVIII, 1922, No. 4).
244. **Vg.** II., p. 123.
245. Altindisches Leben, p. 102.
246. III, 7, 1.
247. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, III. 3, 1; 7, 1.
248. VIII, 14.3
249. Altindisches Leben, p. 102.
250. **Vg.** II, p. 123.
251. VII, 3, 13.
252. Bṛhatsaṁhitā, 14.22 :
    दिशि पश्चिमोत्तरस्यां माण्डव्यतुषारतालहलमद्राः ।
    अश्मककुलूतहलडा : स्त्रीराज्यनृसिंहवनखस्थ : ॥
253. Ibid., 14-27 (Vs.24-27) : उत्तरतः—
    अम्बरमद्रकमालव पौरवकच्छारदण्डपिंगलकाः ।
    माणहलहूणकोहल शीतक माण्डव्यभूतपुराः ॥
254. Rāmāyaṇa (Griffith's translation), Additional Notes, p. 43.
255. B. C. Law, **Tg.** p. 55.
256. Smith, **Gx.** p. 302.
257. **V.** pp. 549-50.
258. Cunningham, **Sz.** p. 185 ; see also Ibid., pp. 5-6.
259. S. B. Chaudhuri, **Jx.** p. 116.
260. Mahābhārata, VIII, 44.17 :
    शतद्रुकामहं तीर्त्वा तां रम्यामिरावतीम् ।
    गत्वा स्वदेशं द्रक्ष्यामि स्थूलशंखाः शुभाः स्त्रियः ॥
261. Cunningham, **Sz.** p. 180.
262. S. B. Chaudhuri, **Jx.** p. 115 ;
    Milinda Pañho, pp. 1, 2.
263. Ibid.
264. In the Sūtra, IV.2.75.
265. II.32 : ततः शाकलमभ्येत्य मद्राणां पुटभेदनम् ।
266. Kaliṅgabodhi Jātaka (Fausboll),No. 479;
    Kusa Jātaka (Fausboll) No. 531, vide Buddha Prakash, (Zy.)[1] p. 114.
267. Mahābhārata, I, 1229, ff. vide Buddha Prakash, (Zy.)[1] p. 113, f.n. 116.
268. Mahābhārata, Udyogaparvan, chaps. 8 and 19 ; Droṇaparvan, chap. 103 ; Bhīṣmaparvan, chaps. 51, 105-6 ; Karṇaparvan, chaps.

5-6, Vide B. C. Law, Tg. p. 58.

269. B. C. Law, Tg. p. 54.
270. 2, 3, 17.
271. 114, 41.
272. Ibid., 208, 5.
273. Shama Shastri (ed.), p. 455.
274. B. C. Law, Tg. p. 57.
275. See Buddha Prakash, (**Zy.**)[1] pp. 112-113.
276. Ibid., f. n. 2, pp. 56-57.
277. Ādiparvan, chap. 113 ; (**Zy.**)[1] f.n. 4, p. 113, f. n. 116.
278. N. L. Dey, **Nx**. p. 49.
279. II. 294.
280. S. B. Chaudhuri, **Jx**. p. 117.
281. Patañjali, II, 298 ; **IJ**. VI.128-36. Pātanaprastha is the same as Paithan or Pathankot situated at the entrance of the Kangra valley. Vide, Ibid, f. n. 1, p. 117, f. n. 7.
282. Mahābhārata, XII, 65.
283. Ibid., 207 ; Robert Shafer ; **Kx**. p. 143.
284. Mahābhārata, VIII. 40.21 ff.
285. Ibid., VIII.40.28.
286. Ibid., 40.28, 41 : नापि वैरं न सौहार्दं मद्रकेन समाचरेत् ।
287. VIII.1531, Rājataraṅgiṇī II, p. 120. Also see H. C. Ray in **LJ**. XVIII, 1922, p. 257.
288. Buddha Prakash, (**Zy.**)[1] pp. 113-14.
289. Mahābhārata, Vanaparvan, chaps. 291-8, pp. 509-23, Mahārājā of Burdwan's Edition.
290. Mahābhārata, IV. 8, 3-4.

अक्षौहिणीपतिराजन् महावीर्य पराक्रमः ।
विचित्रकवचाः शूरा विचित्रध्वजकार्मुकाः ॥
विचित्राभरणाः सर्वे विचित्ररथवाहनाः ।
स्वदेशवेशाभरणा वीरा शतसहस्रशः ॥

291. S. B. Chaudhuri, **Jx**. p. 116.
292. No. I, L. 17 :

मालवानां गण-स्थित्या या (ते) शत-चतुष्टये ।

293. **UJ**. 1915, pp. 138-40. (**Dx.**)[1] p. 87.
294. Fleet, (**Dx.**)[1] Introduction, pp. 65-68.
295. **UJ**. 1914, p. 414.
296. Ibid., p. 747.
297. **GJ**. Vol. XXVII, p. 15 ff :

विक्ख्यापके मालववंशः (वंश) कीर्त्तः ।

298. Cf. Robert Shafer, **Kx**. p. 144 ; Shafer takes Mālava literally in the sense of 'horse-keeper'.
299. **GJ**. Vol. 27, No. 4, p. 16, L. 11 :

विक्ख्यापके मालववंश कीर्त्तः
शरद्गणे पंचशते व्यतीते त्रिघातिताष्टाभ्याधिकेक्क्रमेण ॥

"When five hundred and twenty four years, announcing the fame of the race of the Mālavas, as pure as the rays of autumnal moon, had elapsed one after another."

300. Buddha Prakash, (**Zy.**)[1] p. 111.

301. Bṛhatsaṁhitā, XIV. v.27, p. 122 : उत्तरत:—

अम्बरमद्रकमालवपौरव कच्छारदण्डपिंगलका: ।

It is possible that *Madra*s and *Mālava*s were sons from different wives of the same king. Later on the kingdom might have been divided in between them. So they were living adjacently but became independent people.

302. D. C. Sircar, **Hz.** pp. 265-66, note 4.

303. R. C. Majumdar, **Pg.** p. 142.

304. Ibid.,

305. D. C. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 169, note 6 ;
B. C. Law, **Tg.** pp. 60-61.

306. Ibid., p. 91, note 6 ; **HJ.** Vol. XX, p. 404.

307. Law, **Tg.** p. 62.

308. Buddha Prakash, (**Zy**)[1], p. 111.

309. Ibid. f. n. 1, p. 65.

310. Agrawala, **Jy.** p. 455.
M. R. Singh, **Mx.** pp. 369-70.

311. B. C. Law, **Tg.** p. 60; M. R. Singh, **Mx.** p. 370 : In the Mahābhārata, the name *Kṣudraka-Mālava* occurs in a single appellation for more than half a dozen times.

312. IV.1.68.

313. Droṇaparvan, chap. 10, p. 17.

314. Sabhāparvan, chap. 32, p. 7.

315. B. C. Law, **Tg.** p. 62.

316. **CJ.** Vol. VI, 1871-3, pp. 72 ff. as quoted by Law.

317. R. K. Mookerji, **Ag.** pp. 24-25 ;
GJ. Vol. VIII, p. 44.

318. Bhāgavata XII, 1, 36 ; Viṣṇu, **Bk.** II, Chap. III ; Brahmāṇda, Chap. XIX, Śloka 17.

319. Robert Shafer, **Kx.** p. 144 ; Pargiter, **Kg.** pp. 54-55.

320. Buddha Prakash, (**Zy**)[1], p. 111.

321. The Rāmāyaṇa (Kiṣk. Kāṇda, Canto XLII). See Law, **Tg.** p. 63, f. n. 2.

322. Vaṅgā Lauhityāt pūrveṇa/....../Āvantikā Ujjayinī deśa bhavāḥ/ ta evāpara Mālavyaḥ.

323. He places Vaṅga to the east of the Lauhitya,

324. **JJ.** XIX 'Yādavaprakāśa' on the Ancient Geography of India, p. 222 : Kāvyamīmāṁsā, ed. T. G. Sastri, p. 9.

325. Mookerji, **Ag.** p. 25 ; Also see **Hz.** p. 91, note 6 : **Tg.** p. 64 for Western and Eastern Mālava.

326. M. R. Singh, **Mx.** p. 371 ; **GJ.** V. p. 299.

327. Law, **Tg.** p. 64.

328. M.K. Sharan, Sg. p. 174. For Mālava Coins : See D. C. Sircar, Mz. pp. 204-208 and M.K. Sharan, Sg. pp. 181-214.
329. Law, Tg. p. 64.
330. Ibid., p. 65.
331. Ibid.
332. D. C. Sircar, Hz. p. 309, f. n. 3.
333. R. C. Majumdar, Pg. p. 163.
334. D. C. Sircar, Ly. p. 203:
Cf. Upendra Thakur, Pg. pp. 65-70.
335. Robert Shafer, **Kx**. p. 12, f. n. 1.
336. Ibid. p. 23.
337. **Fz**. p. 837, col. 3.
338. I—I न म्लेच्छितवै:
II.53-8. नार्या म्लेच्छन्ति भाषाभिर्मायया न चरन्त्युत।
339. Robert Shafer, **Kx**. p. 24.
340. **Vg**. Vol. II, p. 181.
341. iii, 2, 1.24.
342. iii, 2.1.23.
343. Weber, **My**. 180; Cf. Keith, Aitareya Āraṇyaka, 179, 180, 196.
344. F.E. Pargiter, **M**. p. 235.
345. S.B. Chaudhuri, **Jx**. p. 132, **HJ**. XX.p. 374.
346. VI. 9.65.
347. Mahābhārata (Gita Press) Karṇa Parva, 45/25 :
मानुषाणां मलं म्लेच्छा म्लेच्छानां शौण्डिका मलम् ।
शौण्डिकानां मलं षण्ढा: षण्ढानां राजयाजका: ॥
348. Ibid., 40/42-43.
मद्रका: सिन्धुसौवीरा धर्मं विद्यु: कथंत्विह । 142॥
पापदेशोद्भवा म्लेच्छा धर्माणमविचक्षणा: ।
349. Ibib., 45/36-37.
सर्वज्ञा यवना राजञ्शूराश्चैव विशेषत: ।
म्लेच्छा स्वसंज्ञानियता नानुक्तमितरे जना: ॥
प्रतिरब्धास्तु वाहीका न च केचन मद्रका: ।
350. II. 32.16; II. 34.10 :
351. Mahābhārata (edn. by M.M. Haridas Siddhantabagis, Calcutta), VII, 80, 42, cf. 1, 72, 15, 15; (Bangavasi edn.) VI, 9, 65.
352. 7/149:
जडमूकान्धबधिरांस्तैर्यग्योनान्वयोतिगान् ।
स्त्रीम्लेच्छव्याधितव्यङ्गान्मन्त्रकालेऽपसारयेत् ॥
See Burnell's Translation p. 166 note 7. Mlecchas—literally barbarians.
353. *Manu-smṛti* (ed. Haragovind Sastri) 3/9. p. 101.
354. Ibid., 10-45.
355. D.C. Sircar, **Oz**. (edn. 1971) p .67.

356. Ibid., p. 277; Varāha Purāṇa 140/4-5

357. 2/10/20 ; भेदाः किरातशबरपुलिन्दा म्लेच्छजातयः ।

358. XIV, 21:

निर्मर्यादा म्लेच्छा ये पश्चिमदिक्स्थितास्ते च ॥

359. XVI, II.

360. Ibid., 35.

361. S. Beal, **Gg.** p. 57.

362. S.B. Chaudhuri, **Jx.** p. 133.

363. C.H. Tawney's English Translation, **I**, p. 151.

364. Ibid., II, p. 564.

365. VIII, 2762-64; XI, p. 217; Cf. Harivaṁśa, 11, 57, 20 :
म्लेच्छा हैमवतास्तथा

366. S.B. Chaudhuri, **Jx.** pp. 132-33.

367. **GJ.** XVIII, p. 101, verse 4.

368. **GJ.** XXV, p. 222, verse 18; **GJ.** XXVI, p. 92; **GJ.**, XII. p. 200.

369. **Og.** The Uṇādi Suffixes, p. 234 :

क्षुधिपिशिमिथिभ्यः कित् /3/55

क्षुधुनो म्लेच्छजातिः ।

370. D.C. Sircar, **Oz.** (edn. 1971), pp. 83-84.

371. दैवपुत्र-षाहि-षाहानुषाहि-शकमुरुण्डैः सैंहलकादिभिश्च ।

372. B.C. Law, **Tg.** p. 94, note I.

373. Fleet, **(Dx)**[1], No. 28, L. 6, p. 127.

374. Ibid., No. 29, L. 6 p. 131; No. 31, L. 6 p. 136.

375. **H.J.** pp. 192, 257-60.
Also See M.S. Pandey, **Bg.** pp. 109-10.

376. R.K. Mookerji, **Ag.** p. 28.

377. **GJ.** XIV, 292.

378. J. Allan, **Z.** p. XXIX.

379. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg.** p. 136, note, 2.

380. **NJ.** XVIII, p. 210.

381. IV, 26. *Lampakāstu Maruṇḍāḥ syuḥ.*

382. The Vaijayantī of Yādavaprakāśa, ed. by Gustav Oppert, p. 37, V. 25.

383. B.C. Law, **Tg.** p. 93

384. D.C. Sircar, **Oz.** p. 26.

385. Kāvyamīmāṁsā, 94. See *Yādavaprakāśa on the Ancient Geography of India*, **JJ.** XIX, p. 214.

386. Prakrit and Non-Āryan strata in the Vocabulary of Sanskrit, **Kz.** pp. 65-71 : Prof. Woolner provides us with a large number of words of non-Āryan origin.

387. Mc. Crindle, **Qy.** pp. 215-6.
See Law, **Tg.** p. 93.

388. B.C. Law, **Tg.** p. 93.

389. M.S. Pandey, **Bg.** pp. 109-110.

390. We know of a town named Morinda in Punjab which has some resemblance with the word Murunda and it may point out that the Murundas sometimes resided there.

391. M.S. Pandey, **Bg.** pp. 109-10.

392. **UJ.** 1897, p. 892.

393. **JJ.** Vol. 1, p. 288.

394. Law, **Tg.** p. 95.

395. Buddha Prakash, (Zy)[1], p. 93.

396. R. Shamasastri, Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra, III, 72, p. 194.

397. No. 13.

398. No. 13, LL. 10-11 :
समुदित-बल-कोशा (न्पुष्यमित्रांश्च) (जि) त्वा
क्षितिपचरणपीठे स्थापितो वामपाद: ।

399. **I.** p. 45 ; **(Dx)**[1], p. 55, note 2).

Fleet certifies the reading Puṣyamitra, which is the correct form according to Prof. Weber also (Sanskrit Literature, p. 223, n. 237). Jagannath in his article 'The Puṣyamitras of Bhitari Pillar Inscription'— **JJ.** Vol. 22, No. 4, Dec. 1946, p. 112, writes :

"I have myself examined the inscription on the original stone, and in my opinion while the first syllable may be '*pu*' or '*yu*', the next syllable can not be '*dhya*'.

Over the subscript '*y*' there are clear traces of a square form. It is not cylindrical, in shape, as would be the form of '*dh*'. It can only be '*p*' or '*s*'. But as '*p*' makes an impossible word '*pupya*' the choice is evidently restricted to '*s*' and we get '*puṣya*'. Mr. Divekar's suggestion is thus disposed of.

We also know of the early king Puṣyamitra Śuṅga, a brāhmaṇa, general of Bṛhadratha the Mauryan king who was a contemporary of Patañjali (Fleet, **(Dx)**[1] p. 55, note 2) which bears out the Prakrit form 'Pūsamitta' in the passages given by Dr. Bühler from the Prakrit Gāthās (**HJ.** Vol. II, p. 362 f).

400. **HJ.** 1889, p. 228.

401. **Gx.** p. 326.

402. **UJ.** 1909, p. 126.

403. **I.** p. 46.

404. **JJ.** XXI., p. 24f.

405. Ibid., XXII, No. 4, Dec. 1946, p. 113.

406. Ibid., Jagannath, pp. 113-115.

407. No. 13, L. 15 : हूणैर्यस्य समागतस्य समरे दोर्भ्यां धरा कम्पिता ।

408. **UJ.** 1909, p. 126, previously he held that Bhaṭārka had beaten back Toramāṇa, **LJ.** 1889, pp. 97-98.

409. **IJ.**, V. p. 407 ff.

410. Wilson's translation of the Viṣṇupurāṇa, Vol. IV, pp. 212-13.

411. Ibid., p. 215.

412. **JJ.** XXII, pp. 115-116 : पुष्यमित्रा भविष्यन्ति पटुमित्रास्त्रयोदश ।
मेकलायां नृपा:सप्त भविष्यन्तीह सप्ततिम् ।।

413. **HJ**. 1889, p. 228.

414. **T.J**. Vol V, pp. 135 ff.

415. **JJ**. Vol. XXII, No. 4, Dec.1946, p. 117, "The Puṣyamitras of the Bhitari Pillar Inscription".

416. See the Appendix No. IV.

417. **IJ**. Vol. XIII, p. 85; Majumdar, **Pg**. pp. 17-18.

418. Buddha Prakash, **IJ**. Vol. XIII, 'The Political Geography of India on the eve of Gupta Ascendency', p. 85;
Ghirshman, **Ny**. p. 296.

419. **Xz**. p. 1096.

420. R. Ghirshman, **Ny**. p. 290.

421. S.R. Goyal, **D**. p. 179.

422. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg**. p. 17. It is evident that the whole of Persia was not under Sassanian rule;
R. Ghirshman, **Ny**. p. 289 : Sassanians, claim themselves to be the descendants of the Achaemenians (one of the original Persian tribes from the province of Fars) but the fact has not been proved beyond doubt. It may be noted that before the Sassanians the Parthians were ruling over Iran.

423. See *Sāhi*.

424. **IJ**. Vol. XIII, pp. 85, 90; R. Ghirshman, **Ny**. p. 296: We know of the marriage of Hormizd II, son and successor of Narsah (A.D. 303-9) with a Kuṣāṇa princess.

425. Cf. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg**. p. 19.

426. Buddha Prakash, **(Zy)**[1] p. 245.

427. D. Sharma, **Fx**. p. 198, f.n. 40.

428. See the Appendix No. IV.

429. S.R. Goyal, **D**. p. 177 : '*Ṣāhi*, who belonged to (the family of) the 'Devaputras'.

430. रघुवंश , 4/60 पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना ।

431. S.R. Goyal, **D**. p. 179.

432. *Śāsa—Śāha* : We know that the Vedic Sanskrit and the old Persian (Avesta) were very nearer to each other and Sanskrit '*sa*' usually changed to '*ha*' in Avesta.

433. V.S. Pathak, New Inscriptions from Ajayagadh, **DJ**. No. I, 1956-57, p. 48.

434. D.C. Sircar, **Hz**. p. 266, f.n. 1.

435. No. I, LL., 23-24 : दैवपुत्रषाहिषाहानुषाहि-शकमुरुण्डैः सैंहलकादिभिश्च सर्व्वद्वीप-वासिभिरात्मनिवेदन-कन्योपायन-दान-गरुत्मदंकस्वविषयभुक्तिशासन (या)-चनाद्युपाय-सेवा-कृत . . . .

436. Majumdar, **Pg**. p. 149.

437. D.C. Sircar, **Hz**. pp. 17-18, Second Rock Edict, LL. 2-3.

438. **Wz**. p. 284.

439. **HJ**. 1902, p. 194.

440. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg**. p. 150.

441. Bṛhatsaṁhitā, XIV, Vs. 11, 15, p. 12.
442. J.C. Ghosh, **BJ.** XIX.
443. V.H. Vader, **JJ.** II, 345-50.
444. D.P. Mishra, WJ. Vol. I—'The Search for Laṅkā'.
445. John David., **BJ.** XXI (1941), Parts. III-IV.
446. JJ., Vol. XXVII, No. I, March 1951 'Laṅkā', pp. 120-26.
447. Ibid., op. cit., p. 122.
448. III. 47.29.
449. VI. 3.21.
450. XII. 66 : महार्णवपरिक्षेपं लंकायाः परिखालघुम् ॥
451. XII. 70 : स सेतुं बन्धयामास प्लवंगैर्लवणाम्भसि ।
452. III. I. 2.26 and ch. 7.52.
453. Ed. by Tawney, I. p. 78, 486, II, p. 442. See also *Karpūra-Mañjarī*, H.O.S., IV, p. 231.
454. S.B. Chaudhuri, **JJ.** XXVII, No. I, p. 120.
455. III. 51.23.
456. Watters, **Vy.** II, p. 233-36.
457. **IJ.** II, 821.
458. S.B. Chaudhuri, **JJ.** XXVII, p. 126.
459. **HJ.** XXII, 29. Cf. The Belava plate of Bhojavarman (v. 14).
460. Ibid., XXII. 73, L. 36.
461. **GJ.** IV, pp. 278 ff. v. 31.
462. Ibid., XVIII. 52, Vs. 56-60.
463. Ibid., XXV, 245.
464. Ibid., XXI, 243, L. 7.
465. Ibid., XX. 36.
466. O.D.B. Priaulx, **Eg.** pp. 103 ff.; See **Ug.** by V.S. Agrawala, pp. 28-29.
467. **HJ.** 1919, pp. 195-96.
468. **Qy.** pp. 247ff.
469. **Ig.** p. 250.
470. **Qy.** p. 160, f.n. 1,
471. *Travels of Marco Polo*, ed. by Yule, II, p. 312.
472. Ibid., p. 314, f.n. 2 cf. *Pārasamudraka* of Arthaśāstra, the name of a kind of pearl.
473. S.B. Chaudhuri, **JJ.** XXVII, p. 127.
474. Sachau, J. Vol. I. p. 209.
475. **Fz**, p. 1213, col. 3.
476. D.C. Sircar, **Oz.** p. 103.
477. **(Dx)**[1], p. 14.
478. R.K. Mookerji, **Ag.** p. 27; A.S. Altekar, **Pg.** pp. 62-63.
479. Ibid., R.C. Majumdar, **Pg.** p. 147, **GJ.** XVI, p. 230 ; **LJ.** (N.S.) XIX, p. 337.
480. Cf. A.L. Basham, **Qg.** pp. 59-60; Buddha Prakash, **(Zy)**[1], pp. 116-17.
481. A.L. Basham, **Qg.** p. 60.
482. Ibid., p. 61.

483. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 175ff. Junāgaṛh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I—(Śaka) year 72(—A.D. 150).

484. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.**[p. 62, f.n.l.

485. A.L. Basham, **Qg.** pp. 64-65.

486. R.K. Mookerji, **Ag.** p. 27.

487. Ibid., p. 64 ; A.L. Basham, **Qg.** p. 65.

488. P.L. Gupta, A.S. Altekar and A.K. Narain, **TJ.** xii, pt. II, 1950 ; S.R. Goyal, **D.** pp. 223-37.

489. A.L. Basham, **Qg.** p. 65 ; Cf. S.R. Gopal, **D.** pp. 235-37; Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, **Mg.** pp. 82-84.

490. A.L. Basham, **Qg.** p. 65.

491. **Fz.** p. 1045, col. 3.

492. A.L. Basham, **Qg.** p. 210.

493. Buddha Prakash, **(Zy)**[1], p. 224.

494. Strabo, **Ox.** XV, III, 20.

495. Budhha Prakash, **(Zy)**[1], p. 224.

496. *Mahābhārata*, VIII, 40, 25-28 ; VIII, 44,12,13.

497. Buddha Prakash, **(Zy)**[1], p. 225.

498. A.L. Basham, **Qg.** p. 494.

499. *Manu*, X.44.

500. A.L. Basham, **Qg.** p. 142.

501. **Fz.** p. 1045, col. 3 ; S. B. Chaudhuri, **Jx.** p. 114 ; created from the tail of the cow Kāmadhenu as told in many curious legends in the Rāmāyaṇa.

502. Buddha Prakash, **(Zy)**[1], pp. 117-120.

503. VI.2.125 mentions Kanthā-ending place-names ; V.S. Agrawala, **Jy.** pp. 70-1.

504. Sten Konow, **Dx.** Intro. p. 43 ; **Dz.** pp. 42, 149 ; Pāṇini, IV.2.100 ; IV.2.103 ; II.4.20 ; VI.2.124 ; VI.2.125. Also see for details **JJ.** **XXVII**, Calcutta, March 1951: Some foreign words in ancient Sanskrit literature, pp. 7-13.

505. Katyāyana's Vārttika on Pāṇini, 1.1.64 :

शकन्ध्वादिषु पररूपं वाच्यम् ।

Also see for details : **JJ.** vol. **XXVII**, Calcutta, March, 1951: Some foreign words in ancient Sanskrit literature, pp. 8-9.

506. Viṣṇupurāṇa, IV, 3; Vāyupurāṇa, ch. 88 ; Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa, ch. 63 ; M.R. Singh, **Mx.** pp. 92-93.

507. *Mahābhārata*, VI.75.21.

तुषारा यवनाश्चैव शकाश्च सह चूलिकै :।
दक्षिणं पक्षमाश्रित्य स्थिता व्यूहस्य भारत ॥

508. *Charaka-Saṁhitā*, 30.6.

509. Buddha Prakash, **(Zy)**[1], p. 247.

510. Ibid., p. 245.

511. Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya, **Mg.** pp. 91-100.

512. Buddha Prakash, 'Thakura', Central Asiatic Journal, Vol.III (1957), published in Holland, pp. 220-237 ; Sudhakar Chattopadhyaya,

Mg. pp. 16-17.

513. H.A. Rose, **Px**. p. 515.

514. **Dx**. part I, Introduction, pp. 50-51.

515. Buddha Prakash (**Zy**.)[1], p. 245.

516. Fleet, (**Dx**)[1]. p.24, note I; p. 25.

517. No. I, LL. 22-23. मालवार्जुनायन-यौधेय-माद्रकाभीर-प्रार्जुन-सनकानीक-काक-खरपरिकादिभिश्चसर्व्व-कर-दानाज्ञाकरण-प्रणामागमन-परितोषित-प्रचण्ड-शासनस्य ।

518. Fleet, (**Dx**)[1]. pp.22-24.

519. B.C. Law, **Tg**. p, 356.

520. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg**. p. 143.

521. **JJ**. Vol. I, pp. 251-258; see also Majumdar, **Pg**. p. 141, f.n.2; p.132 f.n. 1.

522. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg**. p. 144; See Fleet, (**Dx**)[1], p. 25.

523. D.R. Bhandarkar, **JJ**. Vol. I, p.258.

524. See the Inscription, Fleet, (**Dx**)[1]. pp. 24-25.

525. For Chagalaga, see p. 46.

526. No. 20, LL. 1-2.

यस्योद्वर्त्तयत: प्रतीमुरसा शत्रून्समेत्यागतान्
वंगेष्वाहववर्तिनोऽभिलिखिता खड्गेन कीर्त्तिर्भुजे ।
तीर्त्वा सप्त मुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्ज्जिता वाह्लिका
यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्वीर्य्यानिलैर्दक्षिण: ।।

Cf. D.C. Sircar, **Oz**. p. 184.

527. Cf. D.C. Sircar, **Oz**. p. 94, p. 184; Agrawala, **Jy**. p. 449.

528. Rāmāyaṇa, II, 68, Vs. 18-19; "They went through the Vālhīka country to Mount Sūdāman, viewing Viṣṇupada and also the Vipāśā and Śālmalī":

ययुर्मध्येन वाह्लीकान्सुदामानं च पर्वतम् ।
विष्णो: पदं प्रेषमाणा विपाशां चापि शाल्मलीम् ।।

529. **M.J**. Vol. X, pp. 86ff.

530. We have some passages from the Karṇaparvan (Ch. 44) of the Mahābhārata:—

पंचानां सिन्धुषष्ठानां नदीनां येऽन्तराश्रिता: ।
तान्धर्मबाह्यानशुचीन्वाहीकानपि वर्जयेत् ।।७।।
साकलं नाम नमरमापगा नाम निम्नगा ।
जर्तिका नाम वाहीकास्तेषां वृत्तं सुनिन्दितम् ।।१०।।
पंचनद्यो वहन्त्येता यत्र नि:सृत्य पर्वतात् ।
आरट्टा नाम वाहीका न तेष्वार्यो द्व्यहं वसेत् ।।४०।।

531. Kāmasūtra V/23 and V/26; Kāvya-Mīmāṁsā, Chap. XVII, see in the description of the Uttarāpatha;

S.B. Chaudhuri,**Jx**. pp. 117-18, see also p. 117, f.n.3; **IJ**. Vol. VI, 128-36; D.C. Sircar, **Ox**. p. 186; B.C. Law, **Tg**. p, 71.

532. Mahābhārata, Karṇaparvan (ch.44), v. 10 :

वहिश्च नाम हीकश्च, विपाशायां पिशाचकौ ।
तयोरपत्यं वाहीका नैषा सृष्टिः प्रजापतेः ॥

533. D.C. Sircar,**Oz**. pp. 186-87.
534. B.C. Law,**Tg**. p. 71.
535. Robert Shafer, **Kx**. p. 141; Buddha Prakash (**Zy**)[1], p. 243.
536. Buddha Prakash (**Zy**)[1], p. 243.
537. Mahābhārata, Karṇaparavan, Ch. 44, v. 7:

    पंचानां सिन्धुषष्ठानां नदीनां येऽन्तराश्रिताः ।
    तान्धर्मबाह्यानशुचीन्वाहीकानपि वर्जयेत् ॥

538. No. 20, L.2:

    तीर्त्वा सप्त मुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्ज्जिता वाह्लिका ।

539. V.S. Agrawala, **Jy**, p 449.
540. **Ry**. K.D. Bajpai, 'Identification of Vaṅga and Vāhlīka in the Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription' p.360.
541. No. 20, L.2
542. V. 22, 5.7.9.
543. Bloomfield, **Iy**. p.446.
544. **Vg**. Vol. II, p.63.
545. xii, 9,3,3.
546. **Vg**. Vol. II, p.64.
547. V,23,9; 149,27; **UJ**. 1910, p.52; vide S.B. Chaudhuhi **Jx**. p. 110.
548. Rāmāyaṇa, vii, 103, 7,21,22, Cf. Liṅga Purāṇa, Pt. I, ch, 65.
549. **Jx**. p. 110; M.R. Singh, **Mx**. pp. 123-24, see also H.C. Raychaudhuri, **Az**. (edn. 1972), p. 23
550. *Zur Litteratur aıd Geschichte des Weda*, 41.
551. *Indische Studien*, I, 205; Proceedings of the Berlin Academy, 1892, pp. 985-995.
552. Altindisches Leben, 431-33. Cf. Whitney, **Rg**. p.260; Hopkins, **Qx**. p. 373.
553. **Vg**. Vol. II, p.63.
554. D. C. Sircar, **Oz**. p. 23 : वाह्लीका वाटधानाश्च आभीराः कालतोयकाः ।
555. Ibid., p. 71:

    हु (हू)णकौरवगन्धारविदर्भाः सविदेहकाः ।
    वह्लीको बर्बरो देवि कैकयः कोशलोऽपि च ॥

556. Śaktisaṅgama Tantra, Book III, Chapter 7 :

    काम्बोजदेशमारभ्य महाम्लेच्छात्त् पूर्वके ।
    वाह्लीकदेशो देवेशि अश्वोत्पत्तिपरायणः ॥

    Vide, D.C. Sircar, **Oz**. p. 77.

557. Udyogaparvan: Of the Vāhlīka being famous for horses and the account given of Arjuna's *digvijaya* (sabhāparvan).
558. B.C. Law, **Tg**. p.70.
559. In his Vārttika on Pāṇini, IV. 2.99.
560. Shama Shastri, Ist edn., p. 79.
561. Sometimes the Rāmāyaṇa places it in the West.
562. Cf. Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, ed. Shama Shastri, Ist edn., p. 79, f.n. I; M.R. Singh, **Mx**. p. 123,

563. Viṣṇu-Purāṇa, IV/20/31 :
बाह्लीकात्सोमदत्त पुत्रोऽभूत् ।
564. XVII, 48.
565. साहित्यदर्पण: 6/162 :
बाह्लीकभाषोदीच्यानां द्राविडी द्राविडादिषु ॥
566. Ed. Pañcanan Tarkaratna, p. 385.
567. S.B. Chaudhuri, Jx. p. 109.
568. *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, ed. Pañcanan Tarkaratna, p. 371
569. *Amara-kośa* : 2.8.45; 3.3.9; and 3.5.31.
570. Ibid., 2.6.124; 2.9.40 and 3.3.9.
571. रघुवंश चतुर्थ सर्ग, श्लोo 67-68.
572. रघुवंश IV.67:
विनीताध्वश्रमास्तस्य सिन्धुतीरविचेष्टनैः ।
दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धांल्लग्नकुंकुमकेसरान् ॥
573. S.B. Chaudhuri, Jx. p. 110:
वाह्लिकदेशजं (बाह्लीक) यद्रघोरुत्तरदिग्विजये दुधुवुर्वाजिनः
574. XVI. I, p. 129.
575. Pargiter, M. 256
576. J. Przyluski, N. p.7.
577. Buddha Prakash,(Zy)[1]. p. 244; 137-38.
578. M.R. Singh, Mx. p. 127
579. S.Beal, U. 1884, I, pp. 44-47.
580. S.B. Chaudhuri, Jx. p. 111.
581. R.K. Mookerji, Ag. p.25.
582. D.C. Sircar, Hz. p. 178, L.12.
583. Fleet, (Dx)[1], pp. 251-52.
584. S.B. Chaudhuri, Jx. p. 93.
585. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 252, L. 1 : यौधेय-गण पुरस्कृतस्य महाराज-महासेनापतेः...
586. Alexander Cunningham, Sz. pp. 208-09.
587. Ibid.
588. Ādiparvan, Ch. 95, verse 76:
युधिष्ठिरस्तु गोवासनस्य शैब्यस्य देविकां नाम कन्यां ।
स्वयं वरांल्लेभे तस्यां पुत्रं जनयामास यौधेयं नाम ॥
589. (Zy.)[1], pp. 103-05.
590. Sg. pp. 65-71.
591. Fauja Singh and L.M. Joshi (Ed.), Hy. Vol. I, p. 180.
592. Ibid., p. 179.
593. विष्णु-पुराण (गीता प्रेस) चतुर्थ अंश, अध्याय 20, श्लोक: 44 : यौधेयी युधिष्ठिरा-
द्देवकं पुत्रमवाप ।
594. I. 31.24-28: takes the reading Nṛgā.
595. 99.18-22: takes the variant reading Mṛgā.
596. D.C. Sircar, Oz. pp. 252-53.
597. Pargiter, M. p. 264.

598. Vg. Vol.I, p. 103; S.B. Chaudhuri, Jx. p. 91; H.C. Raychaudhuri, Az. (edn. 1972), pp. 60-61.

599. Vg. Vol.I, p. 103; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's, *Age of The Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 70; Cf. M.K. Sharan, Sg. p.78: Quotation from P.L. Gupta.

600. Droṇaparvan 7/18/16; Karṇaparvan 8/4/46.

601. Sabhāparvan 2/48/13.

602. I.59.5 : यौधेयानद्रिजान् राजन् मद्रकान् मालवानपि ।
B.C. Law, Tg, p.75 f.n. 5: There is no mention in Sorensen's Index to the Mahābhārata of 'Adrija' used as the name of a tribe.

603. V.3.117 : पर्श्वादियौधेयादिभ्योऽणञौ ।

604. (Zy.)[1], p. 103.

605. IV. I. 178 : न प्राच्यभर्गादियौधेयादिम्य: ।

606. Arthaśāstra, Ed. R. Shamasastri, 11,35, p. 142; see also f.n.4.

607. XIV, 28. p. 122:
गन्धारयशोवति हेमतालराजन्यखचरगव्याश्च ।
यौधेयदासमेया: श्यामाका: क्षेमधूर्तश्चि ॥

608. XVI.22, p.133
त्रैगर्तपौखाम्ब्रष्ठपारता वाटधानयौधेया: ।
सारस्वतार्जुनायनमत्स्यार्द्धग्रामराष्ट्राणि ॥

609. सहित्यपदर्पण, टीकाकार, सत्यव्रतसिंह VI, 161
यौधेयनागरिकादीनां दाक्षिणात्या ह्री दीव्यताम् ।

610. R.K. Mookerji, Ag. p.25; for the diagram see: M.K. Sharan, Sg. p. 131.

611. Bearging the Brāhmī legend "यौधेयगणस्य जय:"

612. Buddha Prakash, (Zy.)[1], p. 104.

613. M.K. Sharan, Sg. pp. 90-91.

614. The reading taken by Sharan and Shobha Mukerji "Yaudheyānām *Jayamantra-dharānām" is wrong*. It should be "*Yaudheyānām Jayamantradharāṇām*" See John Allan, X, Introduction, Page, CLii; Majumdar & Altekar (Ed.) Pg. (edn.) 1967, p.30, note I; Buddha Prakash, *op.cit.* p. 104.

615. Shobha Mukerji, Lg. p.69.

616. M.K. Sharan, *op.cit.*, p.82.

617. Ibid., p.83.

618. Ibid., p.82.

619. Bearing the inscription : यौधेयान (ं) जयमन्त्रधरा (म्)

620. M.K. Sharan, Sg. pp. 94-95.

621. Ibid., p.95.

622. Xy. p.456, Col.I.

623. R. p. 81.

624. Pg. pp.31-32; M.K. Sharan,Sg. p.144.

625. Alexander Cunningham, Sz. p. 206.

626. Ibid., p.207.

627. M.K. Sharan, Sg. pp.133-46.

628. Ibid., pp.96-97: It should be the goddess 'Ṣaṣṭhī' also known as

Devasenā, the consort of Kārttikeya. Even on a certain type of coins, the figure presumed to be of the six-headed Kṛttikā, J.N. Banerjea had interpreted it to be the figure of a goddess Lakṣmī with aureole round her head, as quoted by Sharan himself.

629. S.K. Chatterjee, *Bhārata Mein Ārya Aura Anārya*, p.98.

630. *Harṣacarita* (Niraṇayasāgara edn. 1897) p.213; Yz. p.34.

631. J.C. Naranga,Yz. p.34.

632. A.S. Altekar, (Kz)[2] (edn. 1972) p.112.

633. A.L. Basham, Qg. p.98

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629. S.K. Chatterjee, Bhārata Meṁ Ārya aura Anārya, p.89.

630. *Harṣacarita* (Nirṇayasāgara edn, 1897) p.213; Vz. p.34.

631. J.C. Naranga, Vz. p.34.

632. A.S. Altekar, (Kz) (edn. 1972) p.112.

633. A.L. Basham, Oz. p.98

PART THREE

NAMES OF PLACES, RIVERS AND MOUNTAINS

Prologue

"Place-names have an abiding interest: historical geographical, linguistic, and above all, human. They may tell us how our ancestors lived, and how they looked on life. Place-names may be picturesque, even poetical, or they may be pedestrian, even trivial. All are worthy of observation".[1]

Their study needs serious scientific investigation. Every available recorded form must be studied minutely and an extensive knowledge of many languages and dialects may be required. Names of cities, castles, countries, towns, villages, hamlets, roads, lanes, footpaths, mountains, hills, islands, fields, forests, rivers, lakes and streams can provide us with a wealth of information about local history, geography, dialects and phonetic features. We should arrange the recorded forms in a chronological order and study them keeping in view the similar instances. We should study the place names by the following process :

(i) The initial terms and their significance,
(ii) The suffixes and their significance,
(iii) Synthesis of the above results.

By such study of place-names we can peep into the culture of the past and compare it with the existing culture.

Countries, towns, mountains and rivers are generally named after discoverers, conquerors, founders and celebrated men. We must also keep in view the situation of a place, its surroundings and inhabitants.

The study of place names has received considerable attention in Western countries specially in Scandinavia, England and America.

In England the scientific investigation of local nomenclature began in the year 1901 when Walter William Skeat's book *The place-names of Cambridgeshire* was published. Skeat was constantly stimulated and encouraged by the erudite scholar Henry Bradley. Skeat and Bradley with Sir Allen

Mawer founded in 1923 an English Place-name Society under the patronage of the British Academy. Scholars, archivists, librarians, curators, teachers, students and people from other professions have gladly helped in the work of the society and as the country surveys have appeared year by year, notable additions have been made to the knowledge of local archaeology, history and geography, of regional dialects, past and present.[2]

In India[3], S.K. Chatterji[4], Sefti Pillar[5], Krishnapada Goswami[6], Bhayani[7] and Sandesara[8] have made the studies in this direction.

H.D. Sankalia[9] classifies the place-names into the following groups :

I. Place-names after a person, deity, spirit or tribe.
  (i) Place-names after a person—hero, saint, tribal leader
  (ii) Place-names after a deity
  (iii) Place-names after a sptrit
  (iv) Place-names after tribes or peoples

II. Place-names after an event—auspicious occasion, bad occasion.

III. Place-names after customs and superstitions.

IV. Place-names after geographical and physical features :
  (i) Place-names after hills, mountains, mounds or any elevated place
  (ii) Place-names after rivers, streams, lakes and ponds,
  (iii) Place-names after forests, deserts, steppes, etc.

V. Place-names after animals, birds and reptiles :
  (i) Animals
  (ii) Birds
  (iii) Reptiles

VI. Place-names after names of existing places.

Chatterji[10] would suggest the following classification :

(i) Place-names from tribes or castes living there originally.
(ii) Place-names from names of natural features.
(iii) Place-names of a religious character.
(iv) Place-names after names of persons or events.
(v) Place-names copied from other place-names.

Actually both the classifications mean the same thing and represent the general trends of naming the places. Dr. Sankalia seems to have just simplified and annotated Dr. Chatterji's

classification.

It may be pointed out that tradition, particularly as recorded in the Epics and Purāṇas ascribes the foundation of cities to particular kings, who are often believed to have given their name to the respective cities but sometimes it remains inconsistent with the original statements. This may indicate that sometimes it was thought that cities could be founded only by kings ; no other factor was envisaged to be responsible for the expansion of urbanism——a belief which ignores the interplay of variables that went into the making of cities.[11]

"The analysis which Pāṇini gives of the underlying meanings which relate place-names to human society, shows conclusively that place-names do not originate by mere accident, but are the outcome of social and historical conditions with which a community is intimately connected. An etymological approach to the place-names of a country, therefore, introduces us to many a forgotten chapter of history and ethnography."[12]

But Pāṇini[13] also cautions his readers that the etymological meaning of place-names should not be held authoritative since the name should vanish when the people leave the place who gave their name to it.

Pāṇini[14] gives the following ending of place-names :

1. Nagara (IV. 2.142)
2. Pura (IV. 2.122)
3. Grāma (IV. 2.142)
4. Kheṭa (VI. 2.126)
5. Ghoṣa (VI. 2.85)

(6-9) Kūla, Sūda, Sthala, Karṣa (VI. 2.129)
(10-11) Tīra, Rūpya (VI. 1.135)
(12-15) Kaccha, Agni, Vaktra, Garta (VI. 2.126)
(16) Palada (IV. 2.142)
(17) Arma (VI. 2.90)
(18) Vaha (IV. 2.122)
(19) Hrada (IV. 2.142)
(20) Prastha (IV. 2.122, IV. 2.110)
(21) Kanthā (IV. 2.142)

Pāṇini gives the interesting information that the ending kanthā was in use in Uśīnara (II.4.20) and Varṇu (Bannu) (IV. 2.103). Kanthā was a Śaka word for a town as in expression

Kandāvara-Kanthāvara occurring in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription.[15]

There are also instances when place-names have been very lengthy.[16]

1. The longest place-name in Great Britain has 58 letters—Llanfairpwllgwyngyllgogercychwyrndrobwllllantsysiliogogogoch——a railway station on the Holyhead-Euston line.[17]
2. Kardivilliwarrakurrakurrieapparlarndoo[18]— —
   This is not a misprint. It is an Australian aboriginal word. It is the name of a lake in the Northern territory, and it means 'the starlight shining on the waters of the lake'.[19]

Modern place-names suffixes and prefixes may be divided into three main categories.

(i) Endings with Sanskrit influence—Pura, Purā, Nagara, Koṭa, Thaḷa (Sthala), Kuṇḍa, Pokhrā, Pāḍā, Bāḍī, etc.

(ii) Endings with Persian-Arabic influence :—Tālāba, Gañja, (Nawabganj, Daraganja, Vishveshwaraganja), Chaka.

(iii) Vernacular terms added before : Ḍerā, Mohalla, Basti, etc.

(iv) English:- Colony, town, street, Road, Fountain, Sector, Block, Enclave, Gate, Bridge, Place and Cantt. (Cantonment).

According to the Mahābhārata[20], 'a place must be named after any of its peculiar features'.

In the Mahābhārata[21] '*Janapada*' '*Deśa*' and *Rāṣṭra* are used synonymously.[22] Yet in practice, they must differ slightly. 'Deśa' means 'a country', province or any patch of land', 'Janapada', a tribal settlement,[23] whereas 'Rāṣṭra' is definitely a political term, denoting 'whatever fell under the jurisdiction of the sovereignty'.

It will be interesting to note the antiquity of place-name terms. We find Rāṣṭra[24] as the oldest right from the Ṛgveda, and used for the biggest unit. Its equivalent Janapada came into being in the Brāhmaṇa-period.[25] The Ṛgveda frequently refers to tribes viz. the Yadus, the Purus, the Anus etc. who were residing in particular area without mentioning their territory, province or kingdom.[26] The ordinary people of a Janapada were called *Viś* which were divided into *grāma*s or unions

of many families. So whenever the people of *grāmas* settled they were termed as *grāmas* (villages) and hence the word *Saṁgrāma* came into being when a number of *grāmas* united for a battle. Every Janapada had a *pura* or chief city (capital) where the king resided. Every Janapada was politically named as Rāṣṭra.[27] Pāṇini mentions a number of Janapadas in the Aṣṭādhyāyī.[28] Kauṭilya also uses the term Janapada for territory as the constituent of State.[29] We find the mention of sixteen Mahājanapadas of Āryāvarta in many places in the Buddhist literature. The term '*rājya*' with its different kinds is referred to in the later Vedic period i.e. in the Brāhmaṇas.

Later on we find that the connotations of the territorial units differed from place to place and time to time. Pāṇini mentions separately the villages and towns of Eastern India (*Prācām grāmanagarāṇām*, VII. 3.14), but with reference to Vāhīka and Udīcya country he uses the term grāma in a generic sense to include all centres of population (IV. 2. 117 and IV. 2. 109). Patañjali in commenting on the distinctions between the terms *grāma* and *pura* remarks that these should not be settled by rules of grammar but by local usage (*tatrātinirbandho na lābhaḥ*, III.321).

The two terms *grāma* and *nagara* were used indiscriminately in the Vāhīka country (Punjab) where the villages had also grown in prosperity like the towns, and hence the word grāma here included nagara also in the connotation.[30]

Yajñavalkya[31] uses the term *Pūga* which the Mitākṣarā explains as the assembly of the inhabitants of the same place with different castes and occupations such as village, city etc.

The *Amarakośa* gives the following words as synonymous, all standing for town or city : *pur*, *purī*, *nagarī*, *pattana*, *puṭabhedana*, *sthānīya* and *nigama*.[32] It also differentiates the *Mūlanagara* (main city) from the *Sākhā-nagara* (branch town).[33]

REFERENCES

1. Simeon Potter, Wy. p.151.
2. Ibid., p. 156.
3. H.D. Sankalia,Pz. p.8.

4. Chatterji, **Hg.** Vol. I, pp. 64-67, 68, 74 and 179-88.
5. **AJ.** IV (1939-40), 24-36, V (1940-41), 1-34.
6. **RJ.** 1943, 1-70.
7. **OJ.** IV (1942), 119-29.
8. Ibid., V (1943), 148-56, 157-58.
9. H.D. Sankalia,**Pz.** p. 47.
10. Ibid., p.47, f.n. I.
11. A. Ghosh,**Vz.** pp. 43-44.
12. **Pz.** p.46, f.n. I, V.S. Agrawala,,**VJ.** XVI, ii.
13. I/2/55 : योगप्रमाणे च तदभावेऽदर्शनं स्यात् ।
14. V.S. Agrawala, Jy. pp. 65-71.
15. Lüders, **UJ.** 1934, p. 516, also Sten Konow, **DX.** p.43; **Dz.** pp.43, 149, *Kanthā*, "town in feminine gender"
16. **H.**, pp. 1-2.
17. Ibid., p.1, f.n. 1.
18. Ibid., pp. 1-2, f.n.2.
19. Ibid. "Wales and New Zealand have even longer place-names but the name of the Australian lake shows that aboriginal peoples of Australia — thought by ethnologists to be among the oldest remaining types of original homosapiens — were not behind-hand in inventing words which, besides having a poetically beautiful meaning, could twist the tongue of the uninitiated into knots".
20. *Mahābhārata* I, 2-8

    येन लिङ्गेन यो देशः युक्तः समुपलक्ष्यते ।
    तेनैव नाम्ना तं देशं वाच्यमाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥
21. Ibid. I. 102-12, 14.
22. तस्मिन् जनपदे रम्ये बहवः कुरुभिः कृताः ।
    ....तस्मिन् राष्ट्रे सदोत्सवाः ।
    स देशः परराष्ट्राणि........................ ।

23. Cf. 'The Genesis of Janapada', **NJ.** Vol. XLIV. Sep.—Dec. 1958, Part III & IV pp. 204-14.
24. **Vg.**, Vol. II, p. 223.
25. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 273.
26. A.S. Altekar, (**Kz**)[2], p. 32.
27. See Ibid.
28. V.S. Agrawala, Jy. pp. 49-64, 15-16.
29. Arthaśāstra, p. 18.
30. Agrawala, Jy. p. 65.

The Greek accounts testify to the existence of about five hundred towns, all rich and prosperous, in the Vāhīka country, where naturally the old distinction of *grāma* and *nagara* must have lost its sharpness as reflected in the Aṣṭādhyāyī.

31. II. 31.
32. *Amarakośa,* 2/2/1.
33. Ibid., 2/2/2

Place-Names and Their Suffixes

Now we shall arrange the place-names occurring in our inscriptions with their suffixes and discuss each one of them.

Place-names ending in Rāṣtra

Rāṣṭra[1] (from √rāj) :

It is the oldest and biggest territorial term. In the Ṛgveda[2] and later Saṁhitās,[3] it denotes 'kingdom' or 'royal territory'. It is considered to be one of the Prakṛtis (constituents)[4] and refers to a country.[5] It was the name of a Commissioner's division under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.[6] In South India, under the Pallavas, Kadambas, and Sālaṅkāyanas also it denotes only a district, if not a tehsil.[7] The Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra[8] says that 'all the rāṣṭra including *nagara* is called *deśa* or *maṇḍala* while nagara is excluded in janapada'.

It divides rāṣṭras into three kinds :—

(i) Big : It consists of nine thousand and ninety villages, but some scholars say that the nine thousand and sixty four villages make a big rāṣṭra.[9]

(ii) Middle : It consists of five thousand, three hundred and eighty four villages.[10]

(iii Small : It consists of one thousand, five hundred and forty eight villages.[11]

It further discusses that seven cities should be established in each rāṣṭra.[12]

In place-names rāṣṭra is changed into :[13]

(a) Rāṭhā, as Mahārāṣṭra, Marāṭhā

(b) Rāṭ, at Mayarāṣṭra, (=Mayarāṭ), Mirāṭ

It also changes into raṭṭa,

Cf. Nāgiraṭṭa. Walde also derives it
from √rāj-(n.sg. rāṭ)
Sk. *rāṣṭra* : AV. *rāstar*—,[14]

In ancient Indian history extending over several centuries, we do not find uniformity in the nomenclature of the different territorial and administrative divisions in the various kingdoms flourishing in different centuries and provinces. In the small kingdoms like those of the Pallavas, the Vākāṭakas and Gāhaḍavālas we usually find reference to only one territorial division, the district variously called *viṣaya* or *rāṣṭra*.[15]

Following are the names with this ending :

1. *Devarāṣṭra* (No. 1, L.20) :

It has been mentioned as ruled by Kubera one of the kings ruling in Southern Region who were subdued by Samudragupta. Dey[16] identifies it with the Maratha country (i.e. Mahārāṣṭra). Fleet and Smith are also of the same opinion. G. Ramdas slightly differs from them when he identifies Devarāṣṭra with modern Devagiri in the Dharwar district.[17] According to R.D. Banerjee[18] Devarāṣṭra is the name of a district or province in Kaliṅga. B.C. Law[19] identifies it with Yellomanchili taluka of the Vizagapatam district, which is also the view of H.C. Raychaudhuri,[20] S.B. Chaudhuri,[21] Dubreuil and Bhandarkar.[22] Th s view is generally accepted at present. Earlier scholars held that Samudragupta made a round of the South crossing from the eastern to the western coast of India. But this involves serious difficulties about his potential relations with the Vākāṭakas. Now, scholars describe southern campaign of Samudragupta as confined to the eastern coast. Thus it becomes apparent that Devarāṣṭra was conterminous with Kośala (Sirpur). Tāmralipti may have been included in Devarāṣṭra.[23]

2. Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa (No 28, L.2, L.8, L.15) :

L.2 of the inscription mentions a maṇḍala (sub-division) called Nāgiraṭṭa (Nāgiraṭṭa-māṇḍalika) and later on refers to Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa which seems to have been the headquarters of this maṇḍala. It is clear from the inscription itself that Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa was situated in the neighbourhood of Nitva-Gohālī.[24]

Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa literally means 'Nāgiraṭṭa Proper'. The word Nāgiraṭṭa is the Prakritic form of Nāgarāṣṭra meaning 'a country of the Nāgas'.

3. *Surāṣṭra* (No. 14, L.8, L.9):

In L .8 Surāṣṭra is used in plural[25] while in L.9 it is an adjective of *avani* (land).[26] In this inscription great importance has been

attached to Surāṣṭra. After his conquests, Skandagupta deliberated for days and nights together as to whom should be entrusted important task of guarding the land of the Surāṣṭras.[27] At last he was satisfied by appointing Parṇadatta as a governor over this western[28] region.

Surāṣṭra corresponds with Southern Kathiawar with its Prakrit name Soraṭh.[29] Literally the name means a good country. It was so named probably on account of the natural fertility of the land, Soraṭh is well known for rich crops of all kinds, and splendid cattle.[30]

Surāṣṭra[31] is mentioned in the Junāgaṛh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I (A.D. 150). It was governed by Puṣyagupta, under Candragupta Maurya and by a Yavana Tuṣāspa under Aśoka.[32] The Purāṇas[33] and the Kāvyamīmāṁsā[34] mention it a country in the west while the Bṛhatsaṁhitā[35] mentions it as a country in the South. It may be due to the different geographical units made by the authors of the Kāvyamīmāṁsā and the Bṛhatsaṁhitā.

Under Gupta emperors Bāmanasthalī (modern Banthali) was the capital of Surāṣṭra, before Valabhī became its capital.[36] The name Surāṣṭra also occurs in the Mahābhārata, the Jātakas[37], and several times in the Rāmāyaṇa.[38] It is also mentioned in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya.[39] In Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, Surāṣṭras are mentioned as one of the corporations of warriors who lived by agriculture and trade.[40] According to the Arthaśāstra the elephants of Surāṣṭra were inferior to those belonging to Aṅga and Kaliṅga.[41]

In the medieval period,[42] in three directions, Bhavanagar, Porabandar and Somanath (the famous temple) were the limits of Surāṣṭra.

Place-names ending in Bhukti

Bhukti (from √bhuj)

Literally it means 'enjoyment' or possession.[43] Bhukti denoted an administrative division smaller than a modern Tehsil or Taluka in the Deccan and M.P., but in Northern India under the Guptas and Pratihāras it denoted a unit as large as the Commissioner's Division in modern times.[44] Thus

Pratiṣṭhānabhukti consisted of only 12 and Koppārakabhukti of 50 villages in the Deccan under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas,[45] whereas under the Guptas the Puṇḍravardhanabhukti comprised of the districts of Dinajpur, Bogra and Rajshahi, and Magadhabhukti included the districts of Gayā and Pāṭaliputra.[46] Śrāvastibhukti under the Pratihāras included several districts in northern U.P.[47] The Bhuktis under the Pratihāra empire appear to have been rather Commissioners' Divisions than provinces.[48] Bhukti is changed into huti as Jejakabhukti, Jejahuti.[49] The unit bhukti which so often appears in the inscriptions of the Gupta period as the designation of an administrative unit is not frequently found in the early medieval period.[50] The mention of a Nagara-bhukti is also made in Deo-Baranark Inscription of Jīvitagupta II.[51]

We find only one place name with the suffix *bhukti* which is detailed below:

Puṇḍravardhana (No. 28, L. 1; No. 33, LL .1-2; No. 34, L. 2 ; No. 35, L. 2; No. 36, L. 2; No. 37, L. 2; No. 43, L. 14) :

This bhukti is mentioned in the Gupta epigraphs ranging from the years 124 to 224 of the Gupta era, i.e. from A.D. 443 to 543. It formed an integral part of Gupta empire during this period. According to Inscription No. 37, a noble man (kula-putra) Amṛtadeva by name belonging to Ayodhyā approached the local government of Koṭivarṣa of which Svyambhudeva was the governor, under the provincial government of Puṇḍra-vardhana-bhukti, during the reign of Bhānugupta, and prayed that he might be given, by means of a copper-plate document in accordance with the prevailing custom, some rent-free waste lands. His prayer was granted.

General Cunningham[52] identifies Puṇḍravardhana with the extensive ruins known as 'Mahāsthāngarh', 8 miles north of the town of Bogra. The river Karatoyā was the dividing line between Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti and Kāmarūpa.[53] According to Wilson, the ancient kingdom of Puṇḍradeśa included the districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Rangpur, Malda, Bogra and Tirhut.[54] It seems to have been the biggest administrative division or province of the Gupta empire, divided into several viṣayas and maṇḍalas of which twenty-four[55] are mentioned

in known epigraphs. In short Puṇḍravardhana signified North Bengal.

Puṇḍravardhana, as the name suggests, was a settlement of the Puṇḍras.[56] The first reference to the Puṇḍras is found in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.[57] The earliest literary reference to Puṇḍravardhana is to be traced in the Buddhist work, the Divyāvadāna, where it is mentioned as the easternmost city of India.[58] The Pauṇḍra country is mentioned also in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā,[59] as situated in the east.[60] The Kāvyamīmāṁsā also mentions it as a Janapada in the east. In the inscriptions of Bengal the name Puṇḍravardhana was changed into Pauṇḍravardhana in the early part of the 12th century, when it occurs first in the Manahali grant of Madanapāla and remained in use till the end of the Sena rule. The Rājataraṅgiṇī mentions Puṇḍravardhana as the capital of Gauḍa which is also proved by a reference in Puruṣottama's lexicon (11th century A.D.)[61]

The city lost its importance from the third quarter of the 12th century A.D. as the later Sena kings shifted their capital to Gauḍa in the Malda district. Towards the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century A.D. Puṇḍravardhana was occupied by the Muhammedans.[62]

Place-names ending in Viṣaya

Viṣaya

According to Monier Williams it means a dominion, kingdom, territory, region, district, country, or abode and in plural it meant lands or possessions.[63] In the Aṣṭādhyāyī[64] it denotes regions or provinces, called after their inhabitants, e.g. Śaiba, the region of the Śibis ; Mālavaka, the region of the Mālava people; Rājanyaka, of the Rājanya tribe and so forth. 'The names according to Viṣaya seem to be based on the ethnic distribution of population over particular areas for the time being without reference to the form of government'.[65]

The word Viṣaya in the sūtra Viṣayo deśe[66] is significant. Jainendra, Śākaṭāyana and Hemacandra take it as rāṣṭra, and Vardhamāna as Janapada. The Kāśikā takes it as grāma-samudāya. Kātayāyana and Patañjali interpret Viṣaya as being identical with janapada in some cases, but their comments give the impression that even such geographical units as were

not a janapada were called Viṣaya.[67]

If Viṣaya and Janapada had been identical, Pāṇini would not have treated the former under a separate heading.[68] A Viṣaya denoted both a bigger unit having the status of a Janapada, and a smaller area which was but an estate. In the Rājanyādi gaṇa, viṣaya denotes janapadas, while in the Bhauriki and Aiṣukāri gaṇas,[69] it is landed property, the share of estate which was the source of livelihood.

In the post-pāṇinian period, distinction between Janapada and viṣaya was lost, both being called by the same names, for example Aṅgāḥ, Vangāḥ, Sumhāḥ, and Puṇḍrāḥ. In some Janapadas like Rājanya, the distinction was retained, as Rājanyaka denoted a viṣaya and Rājanyāḥ, the Janapada of the Rājanya tribe. Similarly we have Vāsātaḥ, Vāsātayaḥ ; Gandhāraḥ, Gāndhārayaḥ ; and Śaibaḥ, Śibiyaḥ. Other smaller units were only viṣayas or estates like Bailvavanaka, Ātmakāmeyaka, Bhaurikavidha and Aiṣukāri-bhakta.[70]

The viṣaya usually corresponded with the district of the modern administration.[71] Minor bhuktis, maṇḍalas and the viṣayas were used to denote the same administrative division in many cases.[72] The district administration was well organised in the Gupta period. Some of the land-grant charters bear the seals of the district administration.[73] Sealings of the district administration of Rājagṛha and Gayā have been found at Nālandā, showing that their correspondence to outsiders bore the impress of their official seals.[74]

We have the following place-names ending in Viṣaya :

1. *Gayā* (No. 21, L. 7) :

A village named Revatikā belonging to the Gayā viṣaya was granted as an agrahāra to a brāhmaṇa, ostensibly by Samudragupta.[75] Gayā is at present headquarters of the Gayā district, 60 miles due south of Patna. It comprises the modern town of Sahebganj on the northern side and the ancient town of Gayā on the southern side.[76] Much has been written on Gayā,[77] all of which is not possible to discuss here. We will confine ourselves to the origin of the name Gayā and the importance of Gayā.

In the Ṛgveda Gaya is a proper name applied to a composer of hymns.[78] In the Atharvaveda[79] Gaya appears to be a

wonder-worder or sorcerer along with Asita and Kaśyapa who later on transformed himself into Gayāsura.[80] According to the Vāyu Purāṇa,[81] the city was named Gaya after an Asura, Gaya by name (Gayāsura). Viṣṇu killed this demon but granted him a boon that this city would be held highly sacred. According to R.L. Mitra,[82] this story is an allegorical representation of the expulsion of Buddhism from Gayā which was the headquarters of the Buddhist faith. Aurṇavābha in explaining 'idam Viṣṇur-vi Cakrame tredhā nidadhe padam'[83] in the Nirukta[84] holds that the three steps of Viṣṇu were placed on Samārohaṇa, Viṣṇupada and Gayaśiras. The Māhabhārata (III. 95 and VII. 64) describes the performance of sacrifices by Gaya[85] references to which[86] are also found in the Rāmāyaṇa,[87] Bhāgavata Purāṇa[88] Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa,[89] Agni Purāṇa,[90] Viṣṇu Purāṇa,[91] Vāmana Purāṇa,[92] etc. Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita[93] (I or II cent. A.D.) speaks of the Buddha's visit to the hermitage called 'the city of the royal sage Gaya', who was later conceived as a great giant.[94]

We can find evidence of the importance of Gayā growing in the period subsequent to A.D. 750. At Gayā while we have only one inscription belonging to the Gupta period, we get numerous inscriptions belonging to the Pāla period.[95] But these records are of not much use for the history of the town, they simply show that till the end of the twelfth century A.D. it was under the Pālas.[96]

The city played no major role in politics at any period of history but it was certainly a centre of religious movements of Buddhist and the Brahmanical Hindus.[97] Gayā which was the headquarters of Buddhist faith passed to the Hindus between the second and fourth centuries of the Christian era and by A.D. 637 when Hiuen Tsang visited the city it had become a thriving centre of Hindu Brahmanical religion.[98]

The religious importance of Gayā is met with in the Māhābhārata,[99] Rāmāyaṇa[100] and Purāṇas.[101] The Gayā has a special religious importance with reference to the Śrāddha ceremony.[102]

2. *Khād(ṭā)pāra*[103] (No. 29, L. 7) :
The inscription came from a place Dhanaidaha in the Natore subdivision of the Rajashahi district (in Puṇḍravardhana).[104]

So this viṣaya may be assigned to the Puṇḍravardhana bhukti. The name of the district cannot be read with certainty. Sen[105] suggests three readings : Mahā-Khushāpāra, Khādā (ṭā) pāra, or Khusaspāra. Banerji gives the reading 'Mahā-khuṣāpāra.[106]

3. *Koṭīvarṣa* (No 34, L.3; No.35, L.3; No.36, L.3; No.37, L.3): It has been described as a viṣaya under Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti. This reference clearly shows that the size of a viṣaya was smaller than that of a bhukti. The viṣaya of Koṭivarṣa occurs frequently in the epigraphic records of the Pālas and Senas.[107] It seems to have comprised the southern part of the Dinajpur district, the northern portion of Rajashahi and probably also the eastern tracts of the Bogra district.[108] Its head-quarters was Diw-kot (Devakoṭa or Devīkoṭa).[109] Yādavaprakāśa identifies Koṭivarṣa with Devīkoṭṭa.[110] The Vāyu Purāṇa also refers to a city of the name of Koṭivarṣa.[111]

The Prakrit lexicon Pāia-saddа-mahaṇṇavo describes it as the capital of Lāṭa country.[112] The name is known to the Jain Prajñāpanā in which it is placed in Lāḍha or Lāṭa.[113]

Hemacandra[114] says that Koṭivarṣa, Bāṇapura, Devīkoṭa, Umāvana and Śoṇitapura are identical. Puruṣottama[115] agrees with Hemacandra with the only difference that he mentions Uṣāvana in place of Umāvana. Bāṇapura is represented by Bāngarh in the Dinajpur district, which still preserves the extensive ruins of a citadel known as Damdamaḥ said to have been the fort of Devīkoṭa associated with the exploits of the mythical king Bāṇa.[116] Diw-koṭa or Devīkoṭa (wrongly read as Dihikota in the A-In-i-Akbarī) was a mahal under the Sarkar of Lakhnautī (Lakṣaṇavatī).[117]

The termination varṣa is significant. It denotes a division of the earth as separated off by mountain ranges.[118] From the Purāṇas we know of such names as Harivarṣa, Kiṁpuruṣa-Varṣa and Bhārata-Varṣa.[119] Varṣam in Pāṇini[120] means the rainy season. We know that rains are connected with the mountains. So originally the divisions might have been made according to the rains in different areas. Rains being very important for agriculture affect the inhabitants of a certain area throughout the year. Later on the semantic development of the word came to denote a year. In India the seasons have been regarded to be important and hence they had often been used to

denote the year.[121]

4. *Kṛmilā* (No. 40, L. 5) :

The Viṣaya or district of Kṛmilā also spelt as Krimilā is mentioned in inscription No.40. According to D.C. Sircar "as the charter is spurious and seems to have been forged a few centuries after Samudragupta's time, it may or may not prove the existence of a viṣaya and therefore of a city of the above name in the fourth century.[122] But certain old seals found at Nālandā prove the existence of Kṛmilā before the Pāla occupation of Bihar.[123] The village Kavāla in the Krimilāviṣaya known from one such seal can be identified with modern Kawāli not far from Valgūdar.[124] The viṣaya or district of Kṛmilā is also mentioned in the records of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.[125]

According to a tradition recorded in the Harivaṁśa,[126] Vayu Purāṇa[127] and the Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa[128] Kṛmi, the son of king Uśīnara of the Puru dynasty, born of his second queen Kṛmi, was the lord of Kṛmilāpurī.[129]

In the Buddhist literature, we get various forms for the city of Kṛmilā : Kimilā, Kimmilā and Kimbilā. The name of an inhabitant of the city is given as Kimila, Kimmilā or Kimbilā. Malālasekera[130] recognises the spellings Kimilā or Kimbilā and Kimila or Kimbila, but prefers the forms Kimbilā and Kimbilā. Kimilā can be the Pali form of Sanskrit Kṛmilā (or Krimilā), and Kimmilā can be derived from the other Sanskrit variant Kirmilā.[131] Two Suttas, the Kimilāsutta and Kimilasutta, were preached by the Buddha when he was camping at the city of Kimilā (Kṛmilā) said to have been situated on the bank of the Gaṅgā. The river is now at a short distance from the villages of Valgūdar and Rajauna, on the site of which the ancient city stood.[132]

M.S. Pandey[133] opposes the identification of Kṛmilā with Valgūdar on the ground that there is not sufficient evidence to prove this identification. Though Kṛmilā is not referred to in early Pali literature, we find a city named Kṛmilā mentioned in the Aṅguttara Nikāya Commentary.[134] According to this commentary, the city stood on the bank of the Gaṅgā. But now-a-days, the Gaṅgā flows at some distance from this region which may be due to a change in the course of the river during so many centuries. The city was not very important and may have gradually disappeared. At present we do not find

any traces of the city : it may have been washed away by the Gaṅgā. According to Pandey[135] the name of the modern village Kiul has some resemblance with the name Kṛmilā and it is not unlikely that the city may have been somewhere in that locality.

Sircar is himself not sure about the identification of Kṛmilā with Valgūdar[136] and seems to prefer the claim of modern Kawali not being far from Valgūdar Kṛmilā.[137] But in the district Gazetteer of Monghyr it is the village of Kiul which is mentioned and not Kawali. Hence we prefer the view of Dr. Pandey.

The word Kṛmilā means "a fruitful woman" or "a place full of worms" and the word Kṛmi forming its first part is sometimes also written as Krimi.[138]

5. *Lāṭa*[139] (No. 17, L. 3)

The district or viṣaya of Lāṭa is here described as "pleasing with choice trees that are bowed down by the weight of (their) flowers, and with temples and assembly-halls of the gods, and with vihāras, (and) the mountains of which are covered over with vegetation".

The country south of Mahī or at times south of the Narbadā up to the Pūrva or so far as Daman, was called Lāṭa and 'it corresponded roughly with Southern Gujarat'.[140] It comprised the collectorates of Surat, Bharoch, Kheda and parts of Baroda territory.[141]

According to Prof. Bühler, Lāṭa is Central Gujarat, the district between the Mahī and Kim rivers and its chief city was Broach.[142] Lāṭa has been identified with Central and Southern Gujarat in the Rewah Stone Inscription of Karṇa.[143] We also find the Lāṭa kingdom mentioned in other epigraphical records.[144] Lāṭarāṣṭra[145] is identical with the old Lāṭa kingdom of Gujarat, the capital city of which is stated in the Dīpavaṁśa to have been Siṁapura (Sīhapura).[146] In the early days of the imperial Guptas, the Lāṭa country was formed into an administrative province in the Lāṭaviṣaya.[147] The Śaktisaṅgam Tantra places the Lāṭa country to the west of Avanti and to the north-west of Vidarbha.[148]

Lāṭa is the same as the Larike of Ptolemy which lay to the east of Indo-Scythia along the sea-coast.[149] The word Lāṭa is

derived from Sanskrit Rāṣṭra.[150] The Nāgara brāhmaṇas of Lāṭa (Gujarat) are said to have invented the Nāgarī character which is believed to have been derived from the Brāhmī alphabet.[151]

6. *Vaivya*[152] (No. 40, L. 4) :
In this inscription the viṣaya of Vaivya is mentioned. The word Vaivya is inexplicable. We may, however, suggest that the term was possibly derived from Prakrit Vevva[153] which means 'fear' and hence Vaivya would mean 'fearful' or 'dreadful'.

Place-names ending in Maṇḍala

Maṇḍala
Maṇḍala is a territorial unit which is found in the inscriptions of many dynasties of the early medieval period. Originally it denoted in the Arthaśāstra and other legal texts,[154] a diplomatic circle of twelve neighbouring kings, some friendly and others unfriendly, in relation to a king desirous of conquest. The term could also be used for the territory under the possession of a feudatory. But in the Gupta period maṇḍala is used for some kind of administrative division though in early medieval period its use was in feudalistic association.[155] In Cālukyan records, the governor of a maṇḍala was usually called a Maṇḍaleśvara or Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara.[156] In the records of the Imperial Guptas it denoted a unit smaller than a Vīthī.[157] Literally meaning a circle or round it denotes a district, province, country in general or it may signify a surrounding district or neighbouring state.[158]

1. *Nāgiraṭṭamaṇḍala* (No. 28, LL. 1-2) :
Nāgiraṭṭamaṇḍala formed a part of Dakṣiṇāṁśakavīthi in Puṇḍravardhana, the headquarters of the province of the same name. Mūla-Nāgiraṭṭa seems to have formed the headquarters of the Nāgiraṭṭamaṇḍala[159] Nāgiraṭṭa is a Prakritic form of Nāgarāṣṭra.

2. *Uttaramaṇḍala* (No. 52, L. 7) :
Literally it means 'the Northern Maṇḍala'. The province might have been divided into four maṇḍalas in the four directions from the point of view of administration. The village Kānteḍadaka is described to have formed a part of the Uttaramaṇḍala as mentioned in the record.[160]

Place-names with the suffix Pradeśa

Pradeśa

Fleet translates it as 'place'[161] but the term has a specific use as an administrative division. Here it connotes a division[162] or may correspond with the word viṣaya used in the same context in the Eraṇ Stone Boar Inscription of Toramāṇa.[163] In modern usage pradeśa signifies a province.

In our inscriptions we find only one place-name termed as Pradeśa.

Airikiṇa (No. 2, L. 25):

It has been described here as the bhoga-nagara of the king (svabhoga-nagara).[164] In this context the use of the phrase 'Svabhoganagara' is important. K.P. Jayaswal[165] interprets 'sva bhoganagara' as a town that had, since the victory scored by the Gupta king at Eraṇ, become his direct personal possession. Fleet translates it as 'the city of his own enjoyment'.[166]

Daśaratha Sharma[167] explains it as analogous to the word 'Ekabhoga' defined in the Mānasāra as a town or village inhabited by a single land-holder along with his dependants.[168] It is 'Svabhoga' for the master and 'Ekabhoga' for others'. Sharma connects this 'Svabhoga' with a feudatory 'who lived therein with his family and dependants, and on whom Samudragupta, pleased by his 'devotion', policy, and valour' conferred the litle of Rājan and the accompanying glories of consecration, etc. described in verse 4.[169] But Sharma seems to be incorrect in associating the inscription with a feudatory, the inscription belongs to Samudragupta himself which is clear by further description in subsequent verses.[170] No doubt in the Eraṇ Stone Boar Inscription of Toramāṇa[171] the word 'sva-viṣaya' an adjectival clause of Airikiṇa is used to refer to a feudatory, which is very clear from the inscription.

The editor[172] also, following Sharma, is misled and explains the term 'Svabhoga' as implying a grant, or something like it by the governor of the province, who had for his own salary the revenues of the city of Airikiṇa allotted to him.[173] But the term 'Svabhoganagara' is significant in connoting royal status, higher than that of a feudatory chief and can mean 'the capital city' where the king himself was residing. In contrast, in the Earṇ Stone Boar Inscription of Toramāṇa[174] the

term 'Sva-viṣaya' has been used for the feudatory Dhanyaviṣṇu (of king Toramāṇa) who may have been a viṣayapati, the administrator-incharge of Eraṇ.

Airikiṇa is the same as modern Eraṇ, the ancient Airikiṇa, a village on the left bank of the Bina, in Sagar District of Madhya Pradesh. From the Copper Coins of the Aśokan period found at Eraṇ, we get an earlier Pali or Prakrit form of the name which is Erakaña or Erakana or Erakaṇa.[175] It is thus clear that Erakaña or Erakaṇa is the simplified form of Erikiṇa : to simplify still more the medial letter 'k' has been dropped by the process of elision.[176] The meaning of the word Erikiṇa is a puzzle but its connexion with erakā 'a kind of grass,[177] found in that area may be accepted as a hypothesis.

Place-names ending in Deśa

Deśa

It means a province, country, kingdom.[178] Sometimes it is used as a technical territorial term. But its exact meaning and bearing are difficult to explain due to the fact that sometimes it is described as bigger and at others smaller than other geographical divisions, such as maṇḍala, rāṣṭra and viṣaya.[179] We find only one reference each in the Brāhmaṇas[180] and the Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā.[181] The passage in the Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā is significant in as much as here for the first time, deśa is used in the sense of a 'country'. We find a reference to the river Sarasvatī as flowing in the Madhyadeśa or 'Middle Country'. The term was much in vogue in the Upaniṣad and Sūtra period denoting therein the meaning 'land'.

1. *Mleccha-deśa* (No. 14, L. 4) :

There is a mention of the Mleccha countries in the Junāgaṛh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta (No. 14). But the record does not refer to any boundary of the Mlecchas.[182]

2. *Sukuli-deśa* (No. 5, L. 4) :

It will literally mean 'a country possessing noble families in it'. It seems to have been a place near Sāñcī in Madhya Pradesh.

Place-names ending in Rājya

Rājya

Rājya means a kingdom, country, realm (=rāṣṭra).[183]

In the Vedic period the term 'Rājya' regularly denoted sovereign power. In addition to this there were other expressions referring to sovereign power.[184] In the ritual of the Rājasūya, the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa[185] gives a whole series of terms: Rājya, Sāmrājya, Bhaujya, Svārājya, Vairājya, Pārameṣṭhya, and Māhārājya.

We find only one name ending with this suffix in our inscriptions which is given below :

Airāvata-go-rājya (No. 35, L.9) :
The name is not clearly legible. But D.C. Sircar takes the reading to be 'Airāvata-go-rājye'. Airāvata-go-rājya may literally mean 'a kingdom where elephants and cows are found'.[186] It was situated in the viṣaya of Koṭivarṣa which formed a part of the Puṇḍravardhana bhukti.[187]

Place-names ending in Vīthi

Vīthi

It is spelt both as vīthi and vīthī and means a row, line, road, way or street.[188] But in the inscription it has been used to refer to an administrative division. It seems to have been smaller than a viṣaya (district) and bigger than a maṇḍala.[189]

We find only one name with this suffix in one inscription which is given below :

Dakṣiṇāṁśaka-vīthi (No. 28, L. 1) :
Literally it means 'a road forming the southern part' of the city. It seams to have formed part of the Puṇḍravardhana district and Nāgiraṭṭamaṇḍala was included in it.[190]

Place-names with the suffix Patha

Patha (footpath)

'Patha' in Zend. The sanskrit spelling (*th*) is loaned from Iran. Greek relatives are patos (path) and pontos (mariners' path, sea-route : sea). Initial *p* is dropped in old Irish : pathin (path) and pons (bridge) recur as *ath* (ford)'. Russian pant (path) and pent (ford).[191]

Monier Williams derives it from √panth to go, to move. It means a way, path, a road or route.[192] In the Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra [193] we find the word 'Jaṅghā-patha (foot-path)'. The suffix 'patha' has been used as early as the later Vedic period.[194] Originally patha meant 'a path', 'a road' but later on it came to denote 'a country'. Even now-a-days, the suffix 'road' is used for inhabitations and localities.

Following are the place-names ending in this suffix :

(1) *Ādyapatha* (No. 43, L. 23) :

It was situated to the east of a village called Gulmagandhikā.[195] Literally Ādyapatha means 'the first route'. It seems to have been a small area like a mohalla.

(2) *Dakṣiṇāpatha* (No. I, L. 20) :

According to inscription No. 1 all the kings of the region of the north were conquered by Samudragupta who attained great fame by liberating them.[196] The kingdoms specifically named as included in the southern region are : Kosala, Mahākāntāra, Kurāḷa, Piṣṭapura, Koṭṭūra, Eraṇḍapalla, Kāñcī, Avamukta, Veṅgī, Palakka, Devarāṣṭra and Kusthalapura.[197] "The earliest epigraphical mention of the Dakṣiṇāpatha is found in the Nānāghaṭ Cave Inscription (Second half of first Century B. C.).[198] It later appears in the Junāgaṛh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman (A. D. 150)[199] as also in the Nasik Cave Inscription of Vāsiṣthīputra Pulumāvi (A.D. 149).[200]

Literally it means 'the path or road leading to the south' and in short the 'south country'. As a designation of the Deccan,[201] the term is found as early as the Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra.[202] A similar expression is Dakṣiṇā padā, 'with southward foot', occurring in the Ṛgveda,[203] and refers to the place to which exiles are expelled.[204] Thus the term denoted 'South' beyond the limits of the recognised Āryan world.

In the Buddhist literature originally the name seems to have been restricted to a remote settlement on the Upper Godāvarī.[205] Some hold that it was situated to the south of the Narbadā and was identical with the Dakhinabades of the Greeks.[206]

According to the Yādavaprakāśa, Dakṣiṇāpatha is the name of the country to the south of the Vindhyas and includes Pāṇḍya, Kuntala, Cola, Mahārāṣṭra, Kerala, Kulya, Setuja,

Kulakālaka, Iṣīka, Śabara, Āraṭṭa and other countries.[207]

Rājaśekhara places it ahead of Māhiṣmatī. Countries situated in it are : Mahārāṣṭra, Māhiṣaka, Aśmaka, Vidarbha, Kuntala, Krathakaiśika, Sūrpāraka, Kāñcī, Kerala, Kavera, Murala, Vanavāsaka, Siṁhala, Coḍa, Daṇḍaka, Pāṇḍya, Pallava, Gāṅga, Nāśikya, Koṅkaṇa Kollagiri, Vallara, etc.[208]

Thus we see that Dakṣiṇāpatha in later times came to represent more or less the whole of the south.

Place-names with the suffix Pura

Pur or Pura

Pur is a word of frequent occurrence in the Ṛgveda.[209] The early Vedic Āryans were not city builders. Puras[210] which are mentioned from the context seem to have been always associated with the dasyus and the enemies of the Āryans.[211] Pura, the oldest Sanskrit word denoting city, is usually derived from the Dravidian *ur*. From what we read in the Ṛgveda about Puraṁdara's exploits in connection with the destruction of the ninety-nine puras of the Asuras who had been causing havoc to the gods, these puras seem to refer to the cities of the Indus Valley pre-Āryans.[212] But the word *ur* is not available in Dravidian lexicons : on the contrary it is pura which is mentioned by them.[213] The word *ur* is not to be traced in the I.E. languages.[214] We find *Ur* only as the name of a town in Babylonia.[215] In Tamil country, in the inscriptions of the Chola dynasty (A.D. 900-1300) the word '*ur*' is used to refer to 'The Primary Assembly of the villagers' in the case of ordinary villages while in the same context the word Sabhā is used in case of Agrahāra villages, mostly tenanted by learned brāhmaṇas.[216]

In the later Vedic literature[217] the word Pur meant 'rampart', 'fort', or 'stronghold'. The meaning of Pura as 'city' developed later and was not at all in vogue in the Vedic literature.

Lexicons define it as a place containing large buildings surrounded by a ditch and extending not less than one Kośa in length, if it extends for half that distance it is called a kheṭa; if less than that, a karvaṭa or small market town, any smaller cluster of houses is called a grāma or village.[218] The Sama-

rāṅgaṇasūtradhāra describes puras as being of three kinds—Big, middle and small which have different measurements for their ditches, buildings, streets and road-ways.[219] The big one possesses a circumference of four thousand arcs, the middle of two thousand arcs and the small of one thousand arcs.[220] T.Burrow derives pura from √pri to fill Piparti 'fills': pur 'city': Lithuanian pilis (l becomes r).[221] We find the word being spelt in two ways pur[222] and pura.[223] Pur (city), from puru (much) and pūrṇa (full) means 'plentitude' or multitude of settlers. Similarly Greek polis (city) from poly (much) : Latin populus (population, people) from plenus (full), and English folk from full. Pur is the city and puruṣa the citizen. Greek polites (citizens), is preserved in politics (civic concerns), police (city administration), and cosmopolitan (citizen of the world) : Lithuanian pilis (fort, castle).[224] In modern times the word purā (from pura) is used for mohalla in India. It seems to be the result of Muslim contact.[225]

Pura, where it does not retain the original from pur, is changed into the following[226] :

(a) Wār : as Purushapura, Peshawar; Nalapura, Narwar; Matipura, Madwār; Śalwapura, Alwar; Candrapura, Candwar

(b) Urs or ur, as Māyāpura, Mayura; Siṁhapura, Siṅgur; Juṣkapura, Zukur

(c) Or, as Traipura, Teor; Candrādityapura, Caindor

(d) Ora, as Ilbalapura, Ellora

(e) Ore, as Lavapura, Lahore

(f) Ola, as Āryapura, Aihole

(g) ar, as Kusumapura, Kumrār

(h) aur, as Siddhapura, Siddhaur

(i) Own, as Hiraṇyapura, Hindoun or Herdoun

There are many names with the suffix Pura in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya and the Kāśikā.[227] The word Mahāpura in the Yajurveda Saṁhitās[228] and the Brāhmaṇas[229] denotes a great fortress. Probably the only difference between the Pur and Mahāpura was in their size.[230]

Following are the place-names ending in the suffix pura:

(1) *Ajapura* (No.12, L.25):

In Inscription No.12, we find the mention of the town of Aja-

pura. The name of the viṣaya of which it was a part has been damaged. Since the column bearing the inscription was originally found in front of the northern gate of the old fort of Bihar,[231] we can easily identify Ajapura with the modern village of the same name in the Rājagṛha viṣaya which is not very far from Nālandā.[232] The name of the viṣaya which included this town can possibly be restored as Rājagṛha in the damaged part of the inscription.

(2) *Candrāpura*[233] (No.16, L.5) :
It is the name of Indrapura. See Indrapura.

(3) *Daśapura* (No.17, L.4, L.16) :
In this inscription L.4 refers to the migration of a guild of silk-weavers from Lāṭa viṣaya (Central and Southern Gujarat) to the city of Daśapura. The guild came to this city attracted by the virtues of its kings.[234] The inscription refers itself to the reign of king Kumāragupta, under whom Bandhuvarman, the son of Viśvavarman[235] was the governor at Daśapura. L. 16 of the inscription records that it was under the governorship of Bandhuvarman (in Mālava era 493=A.D. 437)[236], that a lofty temple of the Sun-god was caused to be built by the guild of silk-cloth weavers at Daśapura.[237] Afterwards, under other kings, part of this temple fell into disrepair. And then it was restored by the same guild in the year 529 of the Mālava era (=A.D. 473).[238]

Daśapura has been identified with Mandasor in Western Malwa[239] formerly in the Gwalior State. The ancient Daśapura stood on the north or left bank of the Siwana, a tributary of the river Śiprā.[240] We also find it mentioned in the Mandasor Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Ādityavardhana (A.D. 490-500). [241] Under the Imperial Guptas the use of the Mālava or the Kṛta era seems to have been confined to Daśapura.[242] Thus Daśapura may have been the main city of the Western Mālavas. We also get a reference to Daśapura in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā[243] and the Meghadūta[244] of Kālidāsa.

The ancient Sanskrit name Daśapura also occurs in an early Nasik inscription of Uṣavadāta,[245] and in one inscription of Vikram Saṁvat 1321 (=A.D. 1264) from Mandasor itself.[246]

There are two explanations of the name Daśapura or Dasor. The local explanation is that the place was originally a city of

the Puranic king Daśaratha. But, on this view, the name of the city should have been Daśarathapura or Dasarathore. Fleet points out that even now, the township includes some twelve to fifteen outlying hamlets or divisions (Khilcipur, Jankūpurā, Rāmpuriyā, Candrapurā, Bālagañja, etc.) and that 'when it was originally constituted, it included exactly ten (daśa) such hamlets (pura)'.[247] This view of Fleet is more appealing.

Mandasor, the full form of the name of the town by which it is officially known and which is entered in maps, is also explained in two ways:

As suggested by Bhagwan Lal Indraji, it may represent Manda-Daśapura, "the distressed or afflicted Daśapura," referring to the overthrow of the town, and the destruction of the Hindu temples in it, by the Musalmans, in memory of which, even to the present day, the Nāgar brāhmaṇas of the area do not drink water there. This is supported by the fact that some paṇḍits still call it Mannadasor.[248]

F.S. Growse suggests that the name combines the two names of Mad and Daśapura: the former[249] being the name of a village (also called Afzalpur) about eleven miles south-east of Mandasor, from which, it is said, were brought, from ruined Hindu temples, the stones that were used in the construction of the Musalman fort at Mandasor.[250]

It is very difficult to choose between the two explanations, but the second seems to be more reasonable.

(4) *Indrapura* (No.16, L.5, L.6, L.7, L.8) :
The inscription states that an endowment was given by a brāhmaṇa named Devaviṣṇu for the maintenance of a lamp in a temple of the Sun established by the merchants of the town of Indrapura kṣatriyas named Acalavarman and Bhrukuṇṭhasiṁha at Indrapura.

In line 5 we get 'Candrāpuraka-Padmā' as the reading taken by Fleet[251] and he thus considers it a separate town than Indrapura.[252] But the correct reading should be as 'Cendrapuraka-Padmā', since we find a small stroke by the left side of 'c'. The stroke in other lines for 'e' is very clear (e.g. in L.2) though it is not very clear in L.5 still we cannot read it simply 'c'. The reading 'ce' for 'c' has been suggested by Sircar and Jagannath.[253] Thus we see that the Padmā referred in line 5

of this inscription also belongs to Indrapura.

Now we find two different spellings of Indrāpura in lines 5 and 6 and Indrapura in lines 7 and 8.[254]

What we can find out here is that the affix 'ka' in lines 5 and 6 is very important which seems to have grammatically a succinct purpose here. The vṛddhi of the first vowel 'i' was desirable here as is also clear by the use of affix 'ka' in the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta.[255] So it is a weaker form of the affix 'ka', without vṛddhi of the vowel in the first syllable.[256] The writer seems to have used the long vowel (with the last syllable of Indra) instead of vṛddhi in the first syllable to avoid confusion between Aindrapura and Indrapura. We do not find any such example of the elongation of vowel in the classical Sanskrit literature though we find its rare use in Vedic literature.[257] So we shall translate 'Indrāpuraka Padmā' as 'Padmā of (the town of) Indrapura and 'Indrapuraka-vaṇigbhyām' as 'merchants of (the town of) Indrapura'. This Indrapura is the same as modern Indor,[258] near Dibhāi, Bulandshahr district, U.P.[259] The ancient town of Indrapura was situated on a large and lofty mound about five miles to the north-west of Dibhāi.[260] Now-a-days it is only a kheḍā or deserted mound, and is not shown in maps.[261]

(5) *Kartṛpura* (No.I, L.22):

Though the most accepted and correct reading is Kartṛpura, some scholars prefer to read Katṛipura[262] or Kātripura.[263]

It is one of the five frontier kingdoms[264] mentioned in the inscription whose kings did homage and paid tribute to Samudragupta. Scholars differ in their views about the identification of this place-name :

According to smith,[265] this kingdom 'occupied the lower ranges of the western Himalayas, including probably Kumaon, Garhwal, and Kangra'. Oldham[266] holds that the kingdom of Kātripura, included Kumaun, Almora, Garhwal and Kangra. Fleet[267] suggests that the name may survive in Kartarpur in the Jullundur district.

We prefer the view of Daśaratha Sharma.[268] His contention is that amongst the five frontier kingdoms mentioned in the inscription, the first three belong to the East, the fourth one belongs to the North, hence it will be better to leave aside

the northern and eastern sides of the empire and to look for Kartṛpura somewhere to the west of the Gupta dominions. Consequently he finds Karor or Karūr to be a good equivalent for Kartṛpura.[269] Kara here stands for Kartṛ and 'ur' or 'ūr' would stand here for pura.[270] Karūr, again, is to be perferred to the other alternatives on account of its associations with the Gupta period of Indian History. According to Al-Beruni, an eastern king, called Vikramāditya, put to flight and killed a Śaka ruler in the region of Karūr, between Multan and Loni.[271] This Vikramāditya is to be identified with Candragupta II 'the enemy of the Śakas', who disguised as his brother's wife, Dhruvasvāminī, 'ripped upon the belley of the Śaka ruler', and destroyed the Śaka army, most probably, in Kartṛpura or Karūr.[272]

This was the first encounter between the Śakas and Vikramāditya, and Karūr, Karor, or Kartṛpura was the theatre of the war because of its intermediate position between the Śaka dominions and the Gupta empire.[273]

(6) *Krīpura* (No. 52, L. 1) :
Krīpura was the place from which Vainyagupta issued his land-grant in A.D. 507-08, was evidently the seat of his government.[274] It was the victorious camp full of great ships and elephants and horses (situated).[275] The place is of unknown identity,[276] but is possibly to be looked for in Bengal.[277]

Literally the name can mean a 'market-town'.

(7) *Kusthalapura* (No. I, L. 20) :
Kusthalapura ruled by Dhanañjaya is mentioned as one of the Dakṣiṇāpatha kingdoms subdued by Samudragupta. Smith takes it to be a mistake for Kuśasthalapura,[278] and identifies it with the holy city of Dwarka, the capital of Ānartta, i. e. North Gujarat.[279] Raj Bali Pandey also identifies it with Kuśasthalī (Dwarka).[280] G. Ramdas locates the place in Gujarat following Smith.[281] Monier Williams also indentifies Kuśasthala with the town of Dwarka.[282] Bhandarkar, following Barnett identifies the place with Kuttalur near Polur in North Arcot.[283]

This Kuśasthalī is not situated in Gujarat but presumably on the eastern spurs of the Vindhya range near Daksiṇakosala.[284] It was the capital of Kuśa, son of Rāmacandra.[285] But its

position in the list of the States of Dakṣiṇāpatha indicates a place a little more to the south.

By the process of Haplology,[286] Kuśasthalapura is simplified into Kusthalapura which may be changed to Kuśasthalī or Kuśāvatī in short.

The suffix sthala or sthalī is significant : it suggests a high-lying country, an eminence, tableland, or dry-land as opposed to a damp low-land.[287] The Mahābhārata, Harivaṁśa, early Jain and Pali literature use the word in this sense.[288] The Mahābhārata mentions both Kuśasthala as well as kuśa-sthalī. The latter is supposed to be another name of Dwarka.[289]

(8) *Pāṭaliputra* (No. 7, L. 12; No. 6, L. 4; No. 1, L. 14) : It is the same as modern Patna situated to the south of the river Gaṅgā. Inscription No. 7 refers to Pāṭaliputra. Inscription No. 6 mentions Vīrasena, the child of Kutsa, the minister for peace and war under Candragupta II, who knew the meanings of the words, and logic, and (the ways of) mankind, who was a poet and who belonged to (the city of) Pāṭaliputra.[290] Inscription No. 1 mentions a city named Puṣpa where Samudragupta enjoyed playfully while he was young.[291] Apparently, the city was the Gupta capital. We also find the word Pāṭaliputa (Pāṭaliputra) used by Aśoka, in his rock edicts.[292] The city was also known as Kusumapura due to the abundance of flowers.[293] Its name Puṣpapura is also met with in the Raghuvaṁśa.[294] It is mentioned in the Mudrārākṣasa as well.[295] The Kathāsaritsāgara of Somadeva[296] (11th century) describes it as a place of both wealth and education though generally there is a fight between Śrī (lakṣmī) and Sarasvatī.[297]

The Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara (A.D. 900) mentions a tradition that there were assemblies of scholars called brahmasabhās, organised by kings, which examined poets like Kālidāsa, Bhartṛmaṇṭha, Amara, Rūpa, Āryaśūra, Bhāravi and Candragupta in Viśālā (Ujjainī) and where such great masters of grammar as Upavarṣa, Pāṇini, Piṅgala, Vyāḍi, Vararūci and Patañjali were examined in Pāṭaliputra and attained fame.[298]

The Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa[299] (A.D. 800) mentions Pāṭaliputra as Nandanagara. This work refers to king Nanda, his learned Council of brāhmaṇa philosophers and to his intimacy with Pāṇini. "After him (Sūrasena) there will be king Nanda

at Puṣpa city. In the capital of the Magadha residents there will be brāhmaṇa controversialists and the king will be surrounded by them. The king will give them riches. His minister was a Buddhist brāhmaṇa, Vararūci, who was of high soul, kind and good. His great friend was a brāhmaṇa, Pāṇini by name".[300]

The Kāśikā[301] records two divisions of Pāṭaliputra :

1. Pūrva-Pāṭaliputra (eastern on the Gaṅgā)
2. Apara-Pāṭaliputra (western on the Śoṇa)

Patañjali[302] mentions the western Pāṭaliputra. A citizen of Pāṭaliputra was called Pāṭaliputraka.[303]

The city is named as Palibothra by Megasthenes, the Ambassador of Seleucus Nicator at the court of King Candragupta Maurya.[304] The Pāla inscriptions refer to it by the name Śrīnagara.[305]

The termination 'Putra' in Pāṭaliputra is difficult to explain. We find it being used with 'Brahman' to denote the river 'Brahmaputra'. As regards places-names we find the mention of Satiya puta (Satiya-putra) and Kerala-puta (Kerala putra) in Aśokan Rock-edicts.[306]

The name Pāṭaliputra is taken to mean "the son (putra) of Pāṭali, i. e. the trumpet flower. The words Puṣpapura and Kusumapura also mean 'a city of flowers'. The word 'Śrīnagara' means 'a beautiful city.[307] Because of the abundance of flowers the city may have looked beautiful. It was known by other names also, viz., Puṣpapura, Puspapurī and Kusumapura.[308] According to Yuan-Chwang, it had been called Kusumapura (K' u-su-mo-pu-lo) on account of the numerous flowers (kusuma) in the royal enclosure.[309] Later its glory was replaced by that of Kānyakubja which came to be known as Kusumapura.[310]

The meaning of 'Pāṭaliputra' is explained in the legendary origin of the city. According to the legend: there was a brāhmaṇa of high talent and singular learning. Many flocked to him to receive instruction. One day all his students went out on a tour of observation. One of them looked very sad. When asked, he told that his life was waning without any company. In a joke his friends made the Pāṭali tree, under which they were standing, his father-in-law : in other words he was to marry the daughter of the tree, or a Pāṭali flower

(Bignonia Suaveolens).[311] As the Sun was about to set, all the students proposed to return home but the young student fascinated by love stayed there fearlessly. Accidentally, next day he was married with the young daughter of an old couple. After a year his wife gave birth to a son. He declined to stay there fearing the exposure to wind and weather. But the old man (the father of the wife) constructed a house for him and made him stay there. When the old capital of Kusumapura was changed, this town was chosen, and "as the genie built the mansion for the youth the country was named as Pāṭaliputrapura (the city of the son of the Pāṭali tree)."[312]

It is not unlikely that originally the name of the city was Pāṭaliputrapura and that later suffix Pura was dropped.

The Buddhist literature informs us that Pāṭaliputra was originally a village known as Pāṭaligāma. Ajātaśatru is said to have fortified it in order to check the attacks of the Licchavis who often harassed its inhabitants. The Buddha on his way from Rājagṛha to Vaiśālī, passed through this village on his last journey and is said to have predicted that the village was destined to become a great city.[313]

The Vāyu-Purāṇa attributes the real foundation of Pāṭaliputra to Rājā Ajāta-Śatru's grandson, Udaya or Udayāśva. It was he who first removed the capital from Rājagṛha to Pāṭaliputra (during the last part of the 6th century B. C.)[314]

Pāṭaliputra had closely been associated with multifarious political and cultural activities right from the fifth century B.C. to the later part of the sixth century A.D.[315] It had the honour to be the capital of the Śaiśunāgas, the Nandas, the Mauryas and the great Imperial Guptas uptil the Hūṇa invasion in the 6th century A.D. when it was ruined. Harṣavardhana (7th century A. D.) made no attempt to restore it.[316] Śaśāṅka Narendragupta destroyed many Buddhist temples and monasteries at Pāṭaliputra.[317] Dharmapāla, the most powerful of the Pāla kings of Bengal and Bihar, tried to restore its glory.[318]

Coming to medieval times, we find that it remained deserted for a number of centuries. It was Sher Shah, who, in about A. D. 1541 occupied it again as a royal city and built a fort there. It then came into importance under its modern name Patna (from Skt. Pattana) *i. e. the town or city. It is even now*

the capital of Bihar.[319]

(9) *Piṣṭapura* (No. 1, L. 19) :

It has been mentioned as one of the southern regions which were first captured and then liberated by Samudragupta.[320] Mahendragiri is mentioned as its king. Piṣṭapura is the same as the fortress Piṣṭapura captured by the Cālukya king Pulakeśin II. The Tāṇḍivāda grant of Pṛthivī Mahārāja also refers to Piṣṭapura.[321] Piṣṭapura is modern Pithapuram in the Godavari district of the Madras Presidency.[322] It was the capital of Kaliṅga.[323] 'Kaliṅgādhipati' Anantavarman issued a grant[324] from the victorious city of Piṣṭapura. This grant records that Anantavarman's grandfather Guṇavarman ruled over Devarāṣṭra with Piṣṭapura as its chief city.[325] In our inscription Devarāṣṭra[326] has been treated separately. It seems that during Samudragupta's time these two States (Devarāṣṭra and Kaliṅga) were separate states but later on under Guṇavarman they were amalgamated.

Guha ruled over the whole of Kaliṅga and the neighbouring regions.[327] Guha belonged to the Sālaṅkāyana family of brāhmaṇas. Samudragupta installed him as his viceroy in Kaliṅga.[328] Guha was already reigning over Kaliṅga (with his capital at Piṣṭapura) when Samudragupta conquered him and placed him as his feudatory. 'Mahendragiri' may have been another name given to him on account of the extension of his dominion over the Mahendra mountain.[329] It is interesting to note that Kālidāsa[330] refers to Raghu defeating a king named Mahendranātha in the course of his southern campaign. It is tempting to connect Mahendranātha with Mahendragiri. After the victory of Samudragupta, Guha was confirmed in the enjoyment of sovereignty under the imperial tutelage.[331]

At Piṣṭapura there is a Vaiṣṇava temple named Kuntimādhava.[332] We get references to Piṣṭapurī or Piṣṭapurikādevī, a form at Mānapura, of the goddess Lakṣmī, in the inscriptions of the Privrājaka Mahārājas and the Mahārājas of Uccakalpa during the Gupta period.[333] This must be a local form of some popular goddess at Piṣṭapura itself.[334]

Place-names ending in the Suffix Nagara

Nagara :

Nagara means a town, a city.[335] we find the term being used by Pāṇini (IV. 2. 142).[336] The word Nāgaraka (or Nāgarika)[337] also occurs in Sanskrit literature as standing for 'an inhabitant of a town' but sometimes its use was restricted for the chief of a town or a police-officer. In modern times nāgarika is used to refer to 'a citizen of a state whether living in city or village'.

In the early Vedic literature Nagara is found only as the derivative adjective Nagarin, used as a proper name, but it appears in the sense of 'town' in the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (1.11, 18 : 31, 4) and frequently in the later works.[338]

Nagara is an important factor which helps us to distinguish Janapada from rāṣṭra : nagara forms a part of the rāṣṭra but is excluded from the Janapada.[339] Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra uses Nagara and Pura as synonyms.[340] It is significant that the word Nagara is of late occurrence.[341] It is likely that in the early Vedic times city life does not seem to have developed much. In the Epic,[342] there are references to Nagara, 'a city' : Grāma 'Village' : and Ghoṣa 'ranch'. Vedic literature especially of the earlier period is generally confined to the village. The siege of puras is mentioned in the Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas.

The word Nagara is changed into :[343]

(a) Nar as Kuśīnagara, Kusinar, Girinagara, Girnar

(b) Ner as Jīrṇanagara, Jooner.

In modern times the suffix nagara is sometimes used to denote an inhabitation or Mohalla e. g. Tilak Nagar, Subhash Nagar, Patel Nagar, Jawahar Nagar, Lajapat Nagar.

We do not find any place-name with the suffix 'nagara' in our records but with a little change in the same sense with the suffix nagarī, which is given below:

Pañcanagarī (No. 44, L. 1) :

It was the chief town of the district, where Kulavṛddhi's Court was situated.[344] D. C. Sircar considers it to be modern Pāncbibi in the Bogra District and the same as Pentapolis of Ptolemy.[345]

Pañcanagarī literally means 'a multitude of five towns'. Five small localities might have been collected into one for the smoothness of administration.

Place-names ending in Nauyoga

Nauyoga :

Literally meaning 'a place for parking boats' it signifies 'a harbour'. Following are the place-names which have been termed as 'nauyoga' or harbour.

1. *Cūḍāmaṇi*[346] (No. 52, L. 28):
Literally meaning 'a jewel worn by men and women on the top of the head' it denotes 'the best or most excellent'.[347] Combined with its epithet nauyuga, Cūḍāmaṇi signifies 'the best of harbours'.

2. *Nagaraśrī* (No. 52, L. 28):
Literally Nagaraṣrī means 'the glory of the town'. Combined with its epithet nauyoga it means 'the harbour of Nagaraśrī'. It seems to have been an important part of the town.

3. *Praḍāmāra* (No. 52, L. 29) :
It has also been described as a nauyoga.[348] The meaning of Praḍāmāra is difficult to explain. It seems to be the Sanskritised form of the Prakrit Paḍāmāra, i.e. a place where clothes or tents are found in abundance or it may signify 'a harbour of "pāla-boats".[349]

Place-names ending in Kaṭaka

Kaṭaka :

It is formed from the root √kaṭ to surround, to encompass, to cover and means a 'royal camp'.[350]

There is only one such place-name with the suffix 'Kaṭaka' which is as follows :

. . . . *Kaṭaka* (No. 29, L. 12) :
The first part is not clearly legible. Sircar takes it to be bhrātṛi[351] but does not seem to be correct as it yields no sense with the word Kaṭaka. The donated land is mentioned to have been given to the Chandoga (Sāmavedin) brāhmaṇa Varāha-svāmin, an inhabitant of this Kaṭaka.[352]

Place-names ending in Vāsaka

Vāsaka:

It means an abode or inhabitation.[353] An inhabitation can be big or small. In referring to a big inhabitation it denotes a city.

Following are the names with this suffix :

(1) *Ānandapuravāsaka*[354] (No. 40, L. 1) :
It has been mentioned as a camp of victory. Ānandapura literally means 'a city of pleasure'. It has not been identified so far.

(2) *Ayodhyā* (No. 21, L. 1 ; No. 37, L. 6 ; No. 39, L. 10) :
In No. 21 the word 'Ayodhyā-Vāsaka' occurs[355] while in No. 37 and 39 the word 'Āyodhyaka' has been mentioned. In No, 21, Ayodhyā is described as a victorious camp, full of great ships, and elephants and horses. In No. 39 certain brāhmaṇas belonging to Ayodhyā, living in the vicinity of Mahādeva Śaileśvara are named and are mentioned as belonging to various gotras and caraṇas, and as proficient in observants, in sacred duty, in the mantras, the sūtras, bhāṣyas and pravacanas.[356]

It has been venerated as one of the most important and holy places of the Hindus.[357] Vinītā was another name for this city.[358] Its other names including Viṇīā (Vinītā) are mentioned in the Vividhatīrthakalpa.[359] Fa-Hsien calls it Sha-che and Ptolemy knew it as Sogeda.[360] Ayodhyā and Sāketa have been treated by many writers as being identical. Csoma de köros[361] calls this place as "Sāketan or Ayodhyā" and H.H. Wilson in his dictionary, refers to Sāketa as 'the city of Ayodhyā'. Several passages in the Raghuvaṁśa[362] confirm it. The Vividhatīrthakalpa mentions Sākeyam (Sāketa) as a synonym for Ayodhyā,[363] but in the Buddhist literature we find separate references to Ayodhyā and Sāketa which creates doubt about their identity and suggests that the two existed separately.[364] V. Pathak quotes a well known verse occurring in the Yuga Purāṇa, a section of Gārgī Saṁhitā,[365] to show that Sāketa is the same as Ayodhyā. But there is nothing in the passage to support the view.

The ancient city of Ayodhyā or Sāketa is described in the Rāmāyaṇa as situated on the banks of the Sarayū or Sarjū river.[366] During the Buddhist period, Ayodhyā was divided into

Uttara (Northern) Kosala and Dakṣiṇa (Southern) Kosala. The river Sarayū was the dividing line between the two provinces. Ayodhyā was the capital of the latter.[367] Ancient tradition believes it to have been built by Manu.[368]

The history of Kośala, with its mighty King Prasenajit and his son Vidudabha pales into insignificance with the emergence of the Magadhan rulers as powerful antagonists. The Nandas, followed by the Mauryas, assimilated Kośala in their empire. Under the Śuṅgas, it was being ruled by a viceroy. An inscription from Ayodhyā mentions Puṣyamitra as having performed two horse-sacrifices. Under the Kuṣāṇas, the city remained more or less in oblivion. Subsequently in the Purāṇas it figures along with Prayāga and Magadha as forming part of the kingdom of the Guptas. The spurious Gayā Plate of Samudragupta (No. 21) mentions it as a seat of a Gupta camp of victory. The history of the city in the post-Gupta period is wrapped up in obscurity. It was within the empire of the Pratihāras and Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj. Ayodhyā is described by Muslim historians[369] to have been a wilderness.

The Slaves and Khilji rulers held sway over it, and subsequently it received importance as the headquarters of Oudh. It was under the charge of Muslim governors appointed from Delhi, but with the emergence of Jaunpur as a strong kingdom Ayodhyā was completely over-shadowed. It was a mint-town in the time of Akbar, but there is no reference to it in later Chronicles.[370]

Ayodhyā is important as a centre of pilgrimage. There are several places in the city connected with different events in the life of Rāma. Rāma was born at a place called Janmasthāna. At Chīrodaka also called Chīrasāgara, Daśaratha performed, with the help of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga Ṛṣi, the sacrifices for obtaining a son. At a place called Tretā-kā-Ṭhākur, Rāmacandra performed the horse sacrifice by setting up the image of Sītā. At Ratnamaṇḍapa, he held his Council,[371] at Swargadwāram in Fyzabad, his body was burnt. At Lakṣmaṇa-kuṇḍa, Lakṣmaṇa disappeared in the river Sarayū. Daśaratha accidentally killed Śravaṇa, the blind Ṛṣi's son, at Majhaurā in the district of Fyzabad.[372] Ayodhyā engaged the attention of the Muslim rulers some of

whom set up mosques here, of these the mosques of Babar and and Aurangzeb are notable.[373] At present this city forms a part of the district of Fyzabad.

(3) *Īśvaravāsaka* (No.5, L. 6)[374] :

It seems to be a village or an allotment of land granted by Āmrakārddava, the son of Undāna, and apparently an officer of Candragupta II to the Āryasaṁgha at the great vihāra of Kākanādaboṭa for the purpose of feeding mendicants.[375] The word Īśvara here is connected with Vāsaka and there is no infix or place-name suffix in between (just as 'pura' in Ānandapura-vāsaka). Hence vāsaka here has a double purpose. It is meaningful to Īśvara and also denotes the inhabitation. The whole will literally mean 'an inhabitation of God'.

Place-names ending in Vana

We find some place-names with the suffix denoting forest, for example Vindhyāṭavī, and Vṛndāvana. In our inscriptions we come across only three such names, Tumbavana and Vindhāṭavī, and Mahākāntāra. The suffixes vana, aṭavī and kāntāra are synonyms. These are described below :

1. *Tumbavana* (No. 30, L. 6) :

It has been identified with Tumain in Guna district, the old Gwalior State, now in Madhya Pradesh. It is also mentioned in the Sāñcī Stūpa inscription.[376] The Bṛhatsaṁhitā[377] refers to it as situated in the South.

The name suggests that Tumba, the gourd Lagenaria vulgaris was in abundance at this place.

2. *Mahākāntāra* (No. 1, L. 19):

It is one of the southern countries subdued by Samudragupta. Its ruler was Vyāghrarāja. Literally Mahākāntāra means 'a great forest'. It has to be distinguished from Sarvāṭavi referred to later on in this inscription.[378] According to Krishnaswami Aiyangar,[379] it must have included the Saugar division of C.P. extending northwards to the Ajaigadh State in Bundelkhanda. But G. Ramdas differs from this view on the ground that Mahākāntāra must be sought in Southern India as it is specifically mentioned as one of the kingdoms of the South conquered by Samudragupta. He suggests that Mahākāntāra must be the same as Mahāvana, a forest region extending northwards into

Ganjam Agency and westwards into the tract formerly known as the Chatisgarh States of C.P.[380] This very region has been mentioned by the same name in the Ganj and Nachna inscriptions.[381]

3. *Vindhyāṭavī* (No. 28, L. 25) : The name appears in one of the verses quoted from ancient Smṛtis or the Mahābhārata asking people to honour land grants. In the present case it is said that a man who violates the grant is born in the Vindhya forest as a serpent and resides in the dry hollow of a tree.[382] Vindhya forest is the belt of forest at the foot of the Vindhya mountain.

Place-names ending in Grāma

Grāma :

It means an inhabited place, village, hamlet.[383] It seems that firstly the word grāma denoted the collective inhabitants of a place, community or race. Later on this sense was transferred to an inhabitation and was used in the sense of a village. The earlier usage of this word, which occurs frequently from the Ṛgveda[384] onwards, appears to have been in the sense of a village. The early Āryans must have dwelt in villages which were scattered over the country, some close together, some far apart, and were connected by roads.[385] In the early Vedic literature village is regularly contrasted with the forest (āraṇya) in the evening the cattle regularly returned thither from the forest.[386] The villages were probably open, though perhaps a fort(pur) might on occasion be built inside.[387] Presumably they consisted of detached houses with enclosures, but no details are to be found in Vedic literature. Large villages (mahāgrāmāḥ) were known.[388] The grāma may, however, perhaps be regarded more correctly as an aggregate of several families, not necessarily forming a clan, but only part of a clan (viś), as is often the case at the present day.[389] The head of the village was called Grāmaṇi or 'the leader of the village'. The king's share in a village is referred to as early as the Atharvaveda.[390]

Villages played an important role as a unit of Rāṣṭra or city.[391] Kheṭa was the half of a city and the village was the

half of a kheṭa.[392] Cities other than the capital are called Karvaṭa, a little less is Nigama and lesser is grāma and still lesser is a house.[393]

Grāma is changed into gaon,[394] as Suvarṇagrāma, Sonārgaon ; Kalahagrāma, Kahalgaon.

Following are the place-name with this suffix. We have also included here some place-names which are villages though they have not been termed as such with this suffix.

(1) *Bhadrapuṣkarakagrāma* (No. 4o, L. 5) :
Bhadra means 'good or auspicious and Puṣkara (modern Pokhara) means 'a pond or lake'. So literally the name would mean 'a village possessing an auspicious or good pond'. It has not so far been identified.[395]

(2) *Bhāraḍidasamada* (No. 39, L. 11) :
It is the name of a village. The name of the place where the liṅga containing the inscription was found is said to be BhārādhīḌīh,[396] Bhāraḍī of our inscription may also be compared with 'bharaḍiya' of the Sāñcī stūpa inscription.[397] Samada is possibly Samudra, an epithet for Śiva. D.C. Sircar takes 'Samudra' to be the 'nām-aika-deśa of a deity called Samuderśvara' and suggests that the relevant passage is to be corrected as '*pārago bharaḍida-samudreśvara*'.[398] The meaning of the passage is difficult to explain.

(3) *Chaṇḍagrāma* (No. 33, L. 3) :
The village is difficult to identify.[399] Caṇḍa is the Prakritic form of Candra[400] which means 'the moon'. Thus the village seems to have been named after the Moon-god. But Caṇḍa may also mean ferocious or turbulent and in that case it may have been so named because of its wild looks or its violent population.

(4) *Citravātaṅgara*[401] (No. 43, L.24) :
It is the name of a village. Citra means 'excellent' or distinguished[402] and vātaṅgara (from vātaṅkara) means 'producing wind'. Thus the whole will literally mean 'which produces excellent wind or air'. The village might have been noted for its healthy and open atmosphere.

(5) *Doṅgā-grāma* (No. 34, L.11; No. 36. L.6):
In No. 34 we get a reference to 'Doṅgā', but in No. 36, the name appears as Doṅgā-grāma.

The Doṅgā-grāma is said to have been situated in Himavac-Chikhara[403] identified with Barāhachatra (Varāhakṣetra) in Nepal.[404] But scholars[405] are not right in co-relating Doṅgā-grāma with Himavac-Chikhara, Inscription No.36 clarifies it. There is a long gap between the references to Himavac-Chikhara and Doṅgā-grāma. Actually Himavac-Chikhara is associated with Kokāmukhasvāmin (a form of the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu) and Śvetavarāhasvāmin where originally (ādya) these gods were installed in a temple. The name Doṅgā-grāma is used for the place where the lands were donated by Ṛbhupāla for the construction of the two temples having the names of the two deities.[406] The word 'ādya' in L. 7 is significant and distinguishes the temples at Himavac-Chikhara from those at Doṅgā-grāma. The writer had to use the word 'Himavac-Chikhara' again in L.10, with the names of Kokāmukhasvāmin and Śvetavarāhasvāmin in order to avoid confusion between the temples at the two places. For the temple at Doṅgā-grāma the writer uses the word 'iha' in L.11. We also find the word 'Himavac-Chikhara' absent in another Dāmodarpur Copper Plate Inscription of the Gupta Year 224 (=A.D. 543), where a person named Amṛtadeva hailing from Ayodhyā donates a land for the repairs and worship, etc., at the temple of Lord Śvetavarāhasvāmin obviously because he was referring to the temple at Doṅgā-grāma and there was now, no question of any confusion or distinction.[407] Thus Doṅgāgrāma does not seem to have any connection with Himavac-Chikhara. This village is to be located somewhere near Dāmodarpur and belonged to the Koṭivarṣa viṣaya as mentioned in the records.[408] But the village was most probably situated in a hilly area which is clear from the wrod Doṅgā itself.[409] The word 'Atrāraṇye' (local forest where the temple of Śvetavarāhasvāmin was situated) in No. 37 also attests to it.[410] The village may have consisted of a few huts with bushes and trees all around or the place where the temples were situated was away from habitation.

Thus the earlier suggestion that the Koṭivarṣa district included the hilly region bordering on the northern fringe of Bengal,[411] which was rejected by Sircar,[412] seems to be correct.

6. *Gosāṭapuñjaka* (No. 28, L.2, L.8, L.15) :

In line 2 of the inscription the reading is Goṣāṭapuñjaka while in lines 8 and 15 the reading is Goṣāṭapuñja.

Goṣāṭa may be the same as gośālā or a cow-stall[413] and puñja means a multitude.[414] So the village may have consisted of a multitude, of cow-stalls and thus resembled the villages known as gohālīs.

7. *Gulmagandhikā* (No. 43, LL.1-2, L.22) :
It is the name of a village. It occurs once in lines 1-2 and twice in L.22.[415]

Gulma means 'a cluster of trees'[416] and gandhikā means 'having the smell of'.[417] The whole will literally mean 'a place which is full of a cluster of trees having smell'. We may conjecture that the village originally possessed a few shrubs or small trees which produced fragrance.

8. *Guṇekāgrahāragrāma* (No. 52, LL. 18-19, L. 21) :
In lines 18-19 we get the reading 'Guṇekāgrahāragrāma while in line 21 the reading is Guṇikāgrahāragrāma. The two names are identical and are the same as modern Gunaighar, 18 miles to the north-west of Comilla, Tippera district—Bengal, in East Pakistan[418] (now Bangla Desh).

Sen considers it to have been a village-name ending with the term agrahāra and suggests that from the standpoint of administration this division was more important and better developed than an ordinary grāma. The expression grāmāgrahāra[419] or agrahāragrāma refers to 'a process of unification which some of the more fortunate villages underwent through pressure of administrative and economic necessities.[420]

Agrahāra (Prakrit aggāhāra) was a village,[421] or consisted of fields which were given to brāhmaṇas.[422] The agrahāras enjoyed exemption from several taxes and had other administrative immunities.

9. *Jambūdeva* (No. 28, L. 2, LL. 7-8, L. 14) :
It was the name of a village. It seems that this locality was named after a person named Jambūdeva.[423]

10. *Kakubha* (No. 15, L. 5) :
Inscription No. 15 informs us that five stone images of Ādikartṛis or Tīrthaṁkaras were set up by Madra at the village of Kakubha. The village was sanctified by its association with holy men.[424] It was also known as Kakubhagrāma,[425] the

suffix grāma seems to have been dropped in the present case. Kakubha is identified with modern Kahāum or Kahawan, a village about five miles to the west by south of Salampur-Majhauli, the chief town of the Salampur-Majhauli Parganā in the Deoria, Deoriyā or Dewariyā Tehsil or sub-division of the Gorakhpur district in Uttar Pradesh. The grey sandstone column on which the inscription is engraved stands at a short distance on the east of the village.[426]

11. *Kānteḍadaka grāma* (No. 52, L.7) :
It was a village situated in the division called Uttaramaṇḍala.[427] The name cannot be explained but the suffix 'ḍadaka' also appears in the name here and Nādaḍadakagrāma mentioned in line 27 of this inscription.

12. *Nādaḍadaka grāma* (No. 52, L. 27) :
It was situated in the Northern direction.[428] The name is difficult to explain.

13. *Lavaṅgasikā* (No. 37, L. 15) :
It is the name of a village based on the Lavaṅga (Clove) tree. Philologically in Lavaṅgasikā one 'l' has been dropped : the original and full form should have been 'Lavaṅgalasikā' i.e. 'where Lavaṅga trees play'.

14. *Pūrṇṇanāga grāma* (No. 40, L. 5) :
The village belonged to a viṣaya called Kṛmilā in Nālandā, Patna district, Bihar. Literally Pūrṇṇanāga means 'full of serpents' and in this respect the name may be compared with the name Kṛmilā of the viṣaya which means 'full of Kṛmis or worms'.

15. *Revatikā grāma* (No. 21, L.7) :
The village was situated in Gayā viṣaya.[429] Revatikā is to be identified with Reworu in the Tikari Police area of the Gayā district.[430] It may have been named after a species of plant (the citron tree or cathartocarpus fistula).[431]

16. *Saṁgohalikagrāma* (No. 43, L. 2, L. 20) :
Saṁgohālika was the name of a village. In L.2 we get the form Saṁgohāli, while in L. 20, it is mentioned as Saṁgohalikā-grāma.[432] Sircar takes the reading to be 'Gulmagandhikā-grāma' in place of Saṁgohālikagrāma.[433] But Saṁgohālika-grāma is the correct form. We can compare Saṁgohāli in L. 2 of this inscription with the letters appearing in L.20. The first

three letters are no doubt not fully legible, but the two remaining are surely 'lika'. Thus the name can never be Gulmagandhikā, most probably it was Saṁgohālika. Moreover, the context of both the lines 20 and 2 is the same.

The word gohālī when joined with the suffix 'saṁ' means 'a good gohālī'. In Inscription No. 28 the word gohālī has in all cases been spelt with long 'ī', i.e. gohālī.[434]

17. *Sāṭuvanāśramaka* (No. 37, L. 16) :
It is the name of a village. The suffixes vana and āśrama are clear but the name cannot be explained due to the word 'Sāṭu' the meaning of which is difficult to explain.

18. *Vaṭodaka*[435] (No. 30, L. 4) :
It is the name of a village. Vaṭa is probably a Prakritic form of vṛtta meaning 'surrounded or covered'[436] and the word udaka means 'water'. So the whole will literally mean 'a place surrounded by water'. It has been mentioned in the inscription as the abode of good people where lived a person, who bore the distinguished appellation Śrīdeva.[437]

Vaṭodaka has been identified with Badoh which is a small village in the Bhilsa district of the old Gwalior State, now in Madhya Pradesh.[438]

(19) *Vāyigrāma* (No. 33, L. 9 ; No. 44, L. 2) :
It has been identified with Baigram in the Bogra (Bagura) district of Bengal, now in Pakistan.[439] In Inscription No. 44 two localities named Trivṛtā and Śrīgohālī are mentioned as included in Vaigrāma.[440]

Vāyi is a Prakritic form of vāyu meaning air or wind and literally Vāyigrāma means 'a village full of air'. We also know of a town named as Vāyupura.[441]

Place-names ending in Pallī

Pallī

The suffix—palli, pallī, pallaka or its diminutive pallikā is derived from √pal to go, to move.[442] It means a small village, (esp.) a settlement of wild tribes (e.g. Triśira-pallī=Trichinopoly).[443] Pallī has been used as meaning a den of thieves in the Uttarādhyanasūtra and other Jain canonical texts,[444] the earliest portions of which are assigned to about 300 B.C.[445]

The Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra by king Bhojadeva, an eleventh century work, defines Pallī thus :

"Where Pulindas[446] live building their huts with leafs, branches and stones etc. is called Pallī and a small Pallī is called Pallīkā".[447]

Its derivation from √pal to go, to move, fits in very well as it was an inhabitation of Ābhīras, thieves and barbarians who moved from one place to another and were usually in small number.

It seems to be a Dravidian word loaned in Sanskrit. We find in Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada the word palli meaning hamlet, settlement, small village and in Telugu the words Palli and Palliya denoting 'a small village'.[448]

Pallī [449] is changed into :

(a) bal : Āśāpallī, Yessabal

(b) Poli, as Triśirapallī (=Trishṇāpallī), Trichinopoly

(c) oli, as Ahalyapallī, Ahiroli (also Ahiāri).

We have only one place-name ending in this suffix, with a slight variation which is 'palla' and is detailed below :

Eraṇḍapalla (No.I, L. 19) :

It is mentioned in the list of countries of Southern region conquered by Samudragupta. Its ruler was Damana. Fleet identifies Eraṇḍapalla with Erandol in the E. Khandesh district of the Bombay Presidency.[450] K.N. Dikshit and Y.R. Gupte agreed with this view.[451] But according to Dubreuil and K.G. Sankar, it is the same as the town Erandpalli near Chicacole on the Coast of Orissa.[452] G. Ramdas opposes Fleet's identification on the ground that Eraṇḍapallī mentioned immediately after the kingdom of Svāmidatta cannot be so far away on the western coast, it must have been in the vicinity of Kaliṅga and Piṣṭapura kingdom.[453] Eraṇḍapallī is mentioned in the Siddhantam plates of Devendravarman of Kaliṅga.[454] Banerjee counts Damana of Eraṇḍapalla among the three chiefs of Kaliṅga who obstructed the passage of Samudragupta through their country.[455]

G. Ramdas[456] regards Dubreuil's identification also to be incorrect because Chicacole lies in Kaliṅga which was clearly the country ruled by Svāmidatta. Eraṇḍapallī will have, therefore, to be identified with the village Yendipalli in the Golgonda

Taluka of the Vizagapatam district or with the village Eṇḍapalli in Elore Tāluka.[457] But if we suppese that Svāmidatta was the king of Koṭṭūra alone and not of the whole of Kaliṅga, Eraṇḍapallī may well be identified with Chicacole.[458]

Palla is the corrupt form of Pallī which means an inhabitation and Eraṇḍa is the castor-oil-plant[459] It seems that the region abounded in eraṇḍa plants.

Place-names ending in Gohālī

Gohālī

The word *gohālī* is derived from Sanskrit gośālā which is transformed into goāl in Bengali.[460] It is generally spelt with long 'ī' i.e. as gohālī,[461] but in No. 43 it has been spelt with short 'i'.[462] This suffix has been used with the names of villages. These villages were known as gohālikas,[463] in a similar context the word pradeśa is for villages which were not gohālīs[464] These villages were probably full of cowherds. In Assam such villages are known as goālpāṛā.

Following are the place-names with this suffix :

1. *Nitva-gohālī*[465] (No. 28. L. 3, L.9, L. 15) :
The maning of Nitva is inexplicable.

2. *Śrīgohālī* (No. 44, L. 2, L. 8. L.16) :
This locality was connected with the village Vāyigrāma, i.e. the present Baigram.[466] The word 'Śrīgohālī' means 'a glorious or beautiful gohālī'. Likewise we have a place name 'Śrīnagara' in Kashmir which literally means (a glorious or beautiful city).

3. *Vaṭa-gohālī* (No. 28, L. 2, L. 6, L. 7, L. 12, L. 14) :
It was a village situated in the Palāśāṭṭa Pārśva within the Nāgiraṭṭa maṇḍala in the Dakṣiṇāṁśaka vīthī. It has been identified with the village of Goālbhīṭā near Pāhāṛpur.[467]

Vaṭa is perhaps the Prakritic form of vṛtta meaning 'surrounded, covered'.[468] The village may have been surrounded by a well or fence. On one hand we find another village named as 'Trivṛtā',[469] and on the other Vaṭa-nagara appears as the name of a town and Vaṭodaka as the name of a river.[470]

Place-names ending in Pārśvika

Pārśvika

It means belonging to the side.[471] This suffix signifies the

geographical situation of the locality with reference to another place.

There is only one name with the suffix, Pārśvika in our inscriptions which is given below:

Palāśāṭṭa-pārśvika (No. 28, L. 2, L. 12):

Palāśāṭṭa may mean 'an aṭṭa[472] or turret of Palāśa trees'. It is possible that there were many Palāśa trees by the side of a hill and they may have formed a turret on the hill. The locality near such a situation may have been described as Palāṣāṭṭa-pārśvika.

Place-names ending in Pāṭaka

Pāṭaka

Literally meaning 'a splittler or divider' it means the half or any part, or a kind of village.[473] Pāṭaka is also the name of a land measure,[474] hence earlier pāṭaka, pāḍaga or pāḍā may have denoted a large but private house, or settlement within a village. Gradually the village and sometimes the city also came to be called after it.[475]

There is only one name with this suffix in our inscriptions which is as follows:

Svacchandapāṭaka (No. 37, L. 15):

Svacchanda in this context may mean uncultivated or wild.[476] So it must be a kind of village with large tracts of barren land.

Place-names ending in Pottaka

Pottaka

Pottaka[477] means the site or foundation of a house. It may signify here an inhabitation or locality.

We find only one name with the suffix 'pottaka' in our inscriptions which is given below:

Pṛṣṭhima-pottaka (No. 28, L. 2, L. 8, L. 14):

It seems to be a name based on the goegraphical situation of the place. Pṛṣṭhima literally meaning situated on the backside may here signify 'a neglected place'.

Place-names ending in Vihāra

Vihāra

Literally vihāra means 'a place of recreation or pleasure-ground'. With Buddhists or Jains it means a monastery or temple, originally a hall where the monks met or walked about. Afterwards, these halls were used as assembly halls or places of worship. The modern province of Bihar or Behar is so named on account of the large number of Buddhist monasteries in it.[478]

We have only one name with the suffix 'vihāra' in our inscriptions which is given below :

Lokottaravihāra (No.32, L.15) :
Lokottara vihāra was possibly the proper name of some local Buddhist monastery probably named after the Lokottaravādin sect of the Hīnayāna form of Buddhism. The Buddhist institutions alluded to in this inscription where evidently situated at or in the neighbourhood of Mandasor where the inscription was found, although no place is mentioned in the record.[479]

Place-names ending in Kṣetra

Kṣetra

Originally meaning an agricultural field, in which sense its use survives, kṣetra came to be used as a place-name suffix as we find in the word Kurukṣetra. As a suffix in composition it signified simply a 'field' for the word preceding it. For example karma-kṣetra, dharma-kṣetra, raṇa-kṣetra, siddha-kṣetra, sureśvarī-kṣetra.[480]

The use of this word[481] in the Ṛgveda points clearly to the existence of separate fields[482] carefully measured off,[483] though in some passages the meaning is less definite, indicating cultivated land generally.[484] In the Atharvaveda[485] and later, the sense of a separate field is clearly marked, though the more general use is also found.[486] The deity Kṣetrasya Pati,[487] 'Lord of the Field' should probably be understood as the god presiding over each field, just as Vāstoṣpati presides over each dwelling.[488]

Kṣetra is changed into:[489]
(a) Chatra as Ahikṣetra, Ahichatra
(b) Cchatra as Ahikṣetra, Ahicchatra.

In Prakrit Kṣetra changes to Kheṭṭa meaning 'a land for agriculture', country, village and city, etc.[490]

Analogous to Kheṭṭa is the word 'kheḍa' or 'kheṭa' which means 'a city surrounded by rivers and mountains'.[491] 'Kheṭa' meaning 'a small hamlet' is also found in Pāṇini (VI.2.126).[492] The Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra defines 'Kheṭa' as the half of a city and the grāma as the half of a 'Kheṭa'.[493] According to Monier Williams Kheṭa means a village, residence of peasants and farmers, small town (half of a Pura).[494]

Lele[495] considers Kheṭa or Kheṭaka to be the dialectic form of the word 'Kṣetra'. The original meaning of Kheṭaka or Kheṭa was an enclosure for cattle. In the course of time the pastoral camp grew into an agricultural village, and the word Kheṭaka came to include agricultural village.[496]

Here we collect the names of fields appearing in the inscriptions of our study. These names can be attributed to the names of individuals or gods. As the proper names are a part of the names of the fields, we treat them as place-names and do not discuss them in the context of personal-names. Some of the names sound curious and at places the readings are doubtful, the fascimile of the grant supplied by the editor being blurred. It is interesting to note that all these names occur in the same inscription, i.e. Gunaighar Grant of Vainyagupta, year 188 (No. 52). Gunaighar formerly Guṇikāgrahāra,[497] is a village about 18 miles to the north-west of the town of Comilla, a mile and a half to the south west of the P.S. Debidvar in the district of Tippera which is modern Tripur.[498] The area is predominated by Tibeto-Burman tribes. Hence some of the names are full of tribal vocabulary.[499]

1. *Buddhāka-kṣetra* (No.52, L.25) :
Buddhāka seems to be a Prakritic form of Sanskrit Vṛddhārka meaning 'an old or declining Sun'.[500] A field belongs to a person of this name or else the field was a place of Sun-worship.

2. *Kālāka-kṣetra* (No. 52, L.25) :

It is a Prakritic form of Sanskrit Kālārka,[501] i.e. the dreadful Sun at the time of the destruction of the whole world. The field may be connected with Sun-worship. Another alternative is that it was the property of a man with this name.

3. *Khaṇḍaviḍuggurika-kṣetra* (No.52, L.26) :
The name is a little puzzling. Its possible Sanskrit form may be 'khaṇḍavidhugrahika-kṣetra', i.e. a field belonging to a person who is the owner of house in the shape of half-moon.

4. *Jolārī-kṣetra* (No.52, L.24) :
Jolārī seems to be a feminine name. The word Jolā is a Dravidian word meaning a water-course or river.[502] Jolārī may have been a fisher-woman and the field belonged to her.

5. *Mahipāla-kṣetra* (No.52, L.25) :
This field seems to have belonged to a person named Mahipāla literally meaning 'a protector of the country', i.e. a king.

6. *Maṇibhadra-kṣetra* (No.52, LL.26-27) :
This field belongs to Maṇibhadra literally meaning 'the excellent jewel'. Maṇibhadra has been the name of a brother of Kubera and king of the Yakṣas (the tutelary deity of travellers and merchants).[503]

7. *Miduvilāla-kṣetra* (No. 52, L. 19) :
The field belonged to Miduvilāla. The word Midu is a Prakritic form of Sanskrit Mṛdu[504] which means soft, delicate or beautiful. Pāia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo[505] takes Vilāla, Birāla, Biḍāla, Bilāḍa and Bilāla as synonymous words meaning 'a cat'. According to Bhattacharya 'the word vilāla is evidently derived from vila with its peculiar meaning (a large watery hollow) current in Bengal.[506] D.C. Sircar takes it to be a mechanic caste like vardhaki (carpenter).[507] We find the word Vilāla occurring thrice in the Gunaighar grant (No.52) which has been translated by the editor of the grant as follows :

(a) Miduvilāla-kṣetra (L. 19): The field of Miduvilāla
(b) Pakkavilāla-kṣetra (LL.21-22) : The field of Pakkavilāla
(c) Gaṇeśvara-Vilāla-Puṣkariṇī (L.28) : the large marshy pond of Gaṇeśvara.

All the three names have been explained according to their context in this work.

In (a) and (b) the editor takes vilāla as a part of the names Midu and Pakka but in (c) he translates vilāla as 'a large

marshy (place)'. The editor should have taken either Miduvilāla and Pakkavilāla as the adjectives of the fields as in (c) or Vilāla as an adjective of Gaṇeśvara and not that of Puṣkariṇī. Vilāla seems to be a part of the names Midu and Pakka which if left alone yield no meaning, but in the case of Gaṇeśvara vilāla, the word vilāla seems to be an adjective of the name Gaṇeśvara rather than a part of it. Here the word vilāla seems to indicate a professional caste. It is a Dravidian word.[508] The whole sense of the name 'Miduvilāla' is not clear.

8. *Nakhaddārccarika-kṣetra* (No. 52, L. 23) :
The expression means the field of Nakhaddārccarika. The word Nakhaddārccarika is a puzzle but it can be possibly explained as the worshipper of Nakṣatras, i.e. an astronomer.[509] Nakṣatra changes to nakkhatta[510] in Prakrit. Nakha and ṇakkha are identical,[511] tta in nakkhatta changes to dda in sandhi here. The word 'arccarika' means a 'worshipper'.[512] Stars were regarded as deities to whom regular worship (bhakti) was shown. The names based on stars were unknown in Vedic literature but became popular in the time of Pāṇini and later.[513]

9. *Nāgī-joḍāka-kṣetra* (No. 52, L. 24) :
The word Nāgī seems to be a feminine name of the Nāga tribe meaning simply 'a nāga woman'. The word Joḍāka means a Yugma (two).[514] So the whole will literally mean 'the field of two Nāgīs'.[515]

10. *Pakkavilāla-kṣetra* (No. 52, LL. 21-22) :
The expression means field of Pakkavilāla. The word Pakka[516] means a barbarous tribe, a caṇḍāla. Vilāla has already been explained.[517]

11. *Rāja-vihāra-kṣetra* (No. 52. L. 22):
The field belonging to the royal vihāra or monastery. Literally Vihāra means "a place of recreation, pleasure-ground." With Buddhists or Jains it means a monastery or temple, originally a hall where the monks met or walked about. Bfterwards these halls were used as temples. The province of Bihar ar Behar is also so named because of the number of Buddhist monasteries in it.[518]

12. *Sūrīnāśīrampūrṇṇeka-kṣetra* (No. 52, L. 19) :
The field of Sūrīnāśīrampūrṇṇeka or the Sūrīnāśīrampūrṇṇeka field. The name is inexplicable.

13. *Sūryya-kṣetra* (No. 52, L. 25) :
The field of Sūryya. The field may belong to a person named Sūryya or it may be a place of Sun-worship.

14. *Viṣṇuvardhaki-kṣetra* (No. 52, L. 19) :
The field of Viṣṇuvardhaki. Viṣṇu is the first part of the name based on god Viṣṇu. The second part of his name seems to be dropped and instead his professional epithet 'vardhakin' has been added which means 'a carpenter'.[519] In Sāñcī Stūpa Inscriptions we get the word 'vaḍakina' which is the same as Sanskrit 'vardhakin' and means 'carpenter'.[520] In the Aṅga-vijjā,[521] we get the word 'vaṭṭaki' which denotes a metal worker.

15. *Vaidya-kṣetra* (No. 52, L. 22) :
The field of Vaidya, i.e. a physician.

16. *Yajñarāta-kṣetra* (No. 52, L. 27) :
The field of Yajñarāta. Yajña means sacrifice or worship and rāta means 'given' presented, bestowed'.[522] The whole will literally mean 'given by Yajña'. The field may be a place of worship or sacrifice. Because of the performance of Yajña on a certain occasion the field came to be so named as if it was a permanent place of sacrifice or the field might have been named after a person 'Yajñarāta'.

Place-names ending in Puṣkariṇī

Puṣkariṇī

Puṣkara means a blue lotus so Puṣkariṇī denotes a lotus pool. It also means a lake or pool in general.[523] The names of some localities associated with pokharās or tanks have survived to modern times.

Following are the place-names with this suffix :

1. *Daṇḍa-Puṣkiṇī* (No. 52, L. 31) :
Though the reading is Daṇḍapuṣkiṇī, it is to be corrected as Daṇḍa-puṣkariṇī.[524] Daṇḍa meaning punishment or rod seems to be a personal name here and the puṣkariṇī was named after him or else it may have been in his possession.

2. *Doṣī-bhoga-puṣkariṇī* (No.52, L.20) :
Doṣī may stand for Sanskrit jyotiṣi meaning astrologer.[525] Bhoga may be a personal name, thus the name may stand for

a pond of the astrologer named Bhoga. Another possibility is that bhoga signifies enjoyment. In that case the expression will signify a pond in the possession of an astrologer.[526]

3. *Gaṇeśvara-vilāla-puṣkariṇī* (No.52, L.28):
Gaṇeśvara was the name of the person to whom the puṣkariṇī belonged. Vilāla is a professional epithet which denotes a mechanic caste[527] or it may have been the nick-name of the person.[528]

Following are the place-names which have got no suffix with them.

One-word Place-names

1. *Avamukta* (No. 1, L. 19) :
The Inscription No. 1 refers to Avamukta as one of the countries in Dakṣiṇāpatha subdued by Samudragupta. Its ruler was Nīlarāja.[529]. Avamukta has not been identified with certainty. Some scholars on the basis of the similarity of names identify it with Avimukta another name of Kāśī.[530] But the suggestion cannot be accepted. Avamukta of the inscription was a country in the South while Avimukta or Kāśī is an eastern country. It may be considered to be situated in the Godavari district.[531] According to D.B. Diskalkar it must lay on the Eastern Ghāṭs which lie to the west of Kāñcī or Conjeevaram.[532]

2. *Davāka* (No. I, L. 22) :
It has been mentioned as one of the frontier states subdued by Samudragupta. According to Fleet it was the ancient name of Dacca.[533] V.A. Smith takes it as corresponding to Bogra, Dinajpur and Rajshahi districts.[534] But as these districts were not actually incorporated in the Gupta dominions, D.R. Bhandarkar suggests that Ḍavāka corresponds to the hill-tract of Chittagong and Tippera.[535] K L. Barua identifieds it with Kopili valley in Assam.[536] Generally Ḍavāka is identified with modern Daboka in Nowgong district, Assam.[537] It thus corresponds to the valley of the Kapili and the Yamuna rivers in Nawgong district where we still find a place called Doboka.[538]

3. *Kāmarūpa* (No. I, L. 22) :
It has been mentioned as one of the frontier states which were subordi nate to Samudragupta and whose emperors paid him

taxes and all kinds of obeisance. Majumdar[539] identifies it with Upper Assam. Kāmarūpa consisted of the Western districts of the Brahmaputra valley which being the most powerful state and being the first to be approached from the western side came to denote the whole valley.[540] The area of Kāmarūpa was estimated by the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang to have been 10,000 li i.e. 1667 miles in circuit which shows that it must have comprised the whole valley of Brahmaputra.[541] Śaktisaṅgama describes[542] Kāmarūpa as extending from Kāleśvara to the Śvetagiri and from Tripura to the Nīla-parvata (which is the Nilādri or Nīlakūṭa, the name of the Kāmākhyā hill). According to the Yoginī Tantra, the kingdom of Kāmarūpa included the whole of the Brahmaputra valley together with Rangpur and Cochbihar.[543] The Purāṇas mention Prāgjyotiṣa, identified with Kāmākhyā or Gauhati, as the capital of Kāmarūpa.[544] The Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva mentions Kāmarūpa as a Maṇḍala of the Prāgjyotiṣa-bhukti.[545]

The Abhidhāna, the Vaijayantī and the Trikāṇḍaśeṣa inform us that Prāgjyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa were the same country.[546] In the Raghuvaṁśa,[547] the separate mention of Prāgjyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa may seem to be a little puzzling. But we see that whereas verses 81-82 of the fourth canto refer to the king of Prāgjyotiṣa as terrified, the subsequent verses describe the presentation of elephants and the offer of respects by the king of Kāmarūpa to Raghu. Thus all the four verses are inter-linked and, the context also proves that Prāgjyotiṣa and Kāmarūpa were the same.[548] The Buddhist Chronicle Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa describes Kāmarūpa as a country of the east.[549] The Bṛhatsaṁhitā[550] and the Kāvyamīmāṁsā[551] also mention it in the same direction. Chatterji remarks that the tribes living on the frontiers of Kāmarūpa were akin to the Man tribes of South-Western China, a wild Tibeto-Chinese people.[552]

The Ahoms of the Shan Tribe came into Assam at the beginning of the 13th century due to the break-up of the Chinese empire by the Moguls and ruled till the British occupation in the beginning of the 19th century.[553]

4. *Kāñcī* (No. I, L. 19) :

The earliest epigraphic mention of Kāñcī is to be found in this

inscription. The inscription refers to Viṣṇugopa of Kāñcī as one of the kings of Dakṣiṇāpatha defeated by Samudragupta but reinstated in their kingdoms. Kāñcī is the same as Kāñcīpura or modern Conjeevaram in the Chingleput district of Madras Presidency.[554] The kingdom of Kāñcī extended from the mouth of the Krishna to the south of the river Palar and sometimes even to the Kaveri.[555] It is also known as Kāñcīpeḍu.[556] It is mentioned in several early records relating to the ancient history of the Pallavas of Kāñcī (of about A.D. 250 to 355)[557] The Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin, the Cālukya ruler in the 7th century A.D. refers to his conquest of Kāñcīpura.[558] The earliest literary reference to Kāñcī is in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali.[559]

The Mahābhāṣya on Vārttika 26 to Pāṇini IV. 2.104 mentions Kāñcīpuraka (i.e. a resident of Kāñcīpura).[560] Hiuen Tsang informs us that Kāñcī was 30 li or 5 miles in circuit, and that in the city there were eighty Deva temples and many heretics called Nirgranthas.[561]

The Purāṇas attach great importance to Kāñcī.[562] It is included in a list of seven holy cities of India.[563] The Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa[564] associates Kāñcī with Kāśī, the two forming the two eyes of Śiva. It is stated in the Bārhaspatya sūtra[565] that Kāñcī is a Śākta-kṣetra. In the Devībhāgavata[566], Kāñcī is said to be a sthāna of the Devī called Annapūrṇā.[567] The Vāmana Purāṇa[568] mentions it as the best among the cities. The Skandapurāṇa[569] counts it amongst the holy places. The Bhāgavatapurāṇa[570] and the Yoginītantra[571] also mention it. In Daśakumāracaritam[572] it is referred to as a city of the Drāviḍa country.

Kāñcī is full of temples and shrines. Śiva Kāñcī and Viṣṇu Kāñcī form the western and eastern parts of the city, while the Jaina Kāñcī is known as Tiruparutti-Kunram.[573] Of the temples at Conjeevaram, the most famous are the Kāmākṣī temple with a Cakra placed in front of the deity, the Vaikuṇṭha Perumal temple of Viṣṇu and the Śhiva temple of Kailāśanātha.[574]

Apart from its religious significance Kāñcī has been a famous centre of learning. The Pallava ruler Mahendravarman, the author of the Mattavilāsa-Prahasana; Bhāravi, the author

of the Kirātārjunīyam and Daṇḍin, the author of the Daśakumāracaritam are said to have flourished here.[575]

The famous Buddhist dialectician Diṅnāga came here to satisfy his intellectual and spiritual thirst and about the middle of the fourth century A.D., the brāhmaṇa Mayūraśaraman, who founded the Kadamba line came here for getting recognition in Vedic learning.[576] The Ādi-guru Śaṅkarācārya established here the famous Pīṭha known as Kāmakotipīṭha.[577] Literally Kāñcī means a 'girdle'. It seems to have been so named because it is situated like a girdle round the sea.

5. *Kāśī* (No. 28, L. 6) :

It is mentioned in Inscription No. 28. According to the inscription a vihāra at Vaṭa-gohālī was inhabited by the disciples of the Nigrantha preceptor (Śramaṇācārya) Guhanandin, belonging to the Pañca-stūpa section (nikāya) of Kāśī.[578] Evidently Vaṭagohālī was a seat of Jain monks who had their major seat at Kāśī.

The name Kāśī is derived from the root Kaś 'to shine'. The Skandapurāṇa[579] says that the city of Kāśī became famous by that name because it sheds light on (the way to) nirvāṇa or because, that indescribable refulgence, viz. god Śiva shines forth here.[580] B.C. Law connects it with Ti-miao meaning 'read sprouts', a Chinese translation of the word and this links it with a certain kind of grass.[581] It has been known for centuries under five different names, viz., Vārāṇasī (modern Banaras), Kāśī, Avimukta, Ānandakānana and Śmaśāna or Mahāśmaśāna.[582]

The earliest mention of the Kāśīs as a tribal people occurs in the Paippalāda recension of the Atharvaveda.[583] Vārāṇasī was the capital of the people of Kāśī.[584] Thus it seems that geographically Kāśī represented a larger area than Vārāṇasī, the latter being the capital of the former. But in medieval times the position became just the reverse. Vārāṇasī comprehended the entire district and Kāśī generally represented only a small place. In a grant of Mahārāja Vināyakapāla we get a reference to a village of Ṭikkarikā situated in the Pratiṣṭhāna-bhukti, and attached to Kāśī-pāra-Pathaka which belonged to Vārāṇasī viṣaya.[585] Kāśī pāra-pathaka represented the site of the ancient city of the Kāśī.[586] The Vividhatīrthakalpa[587] also mentions

Kāśī as a janapada in the Vārāṇasī City.

The ancient kingdom of Kāśī was bounded by Kośala on the north, Magadha on the east, and Vatsa on the west. The Cedis and Karuṣas lived to their south.[588] At the time of Buddha, the kingdom of Kāśī was absorbed by the kingdom of Kośala.[589]

We know that Lord Buddha gave his first discourse near Kāśī in the Deer Park at Sārnāth. Kāśī was an important Buddhist centre and was a seat of monastic establishments in the time of Aśoka.[590] During the period of Gupta rule it was on its way to become a strong centre of Śiva worship with the mahāliṅgas set up in different parts of the city.[591] The Purāṇas include the region in the Gupta empire.[592]

It was a great centre of trade and commerce. Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya[593] mentions Kāśī cloth. The Buddhist literature gives us many accounts of the merchants of the city.[594]

Kāśī has been a place of much improtance for Hindu pilgrimage. Its religious importance has been discussed at length in the Kāśīkhaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa. Lord Śiva never leaves it, hence it is known as Avimukta. A man who dies here is believed to get emancipation.[595]

6. *Kosala* (No. I, L. 19) :

It is spelt both ways with the dental as well as with the palatal sibilant. It is included in the list of the Dakṣiṇāpatha kingdoms whose kings were conquered but reinstated by Samudragupta. At that time Mahendra was its ruler. It has been identified with South Kosala corresponding to modern district of Raipur, Sambalpur and Bilaspur of M.P. and Orissa.[596] Its old capital was Śrīpura (modern Sirpur), 40 miles north-east of Raipur.[597] It is the same as Mahā-kosala[598] which forms the largest unit among the three component parts of the State of Madhya Pradesh.[599] The recent excavation at Eraṇ has thrown a flood of new light on the early history of eastern Malwa and Mahākosala between the period 1900 B.C. and A.D. 600. During the Gupta period several Brahmanical temples were built in this region. In the early medieval period i.e. from A.D. 600 to 1200, the Candellas and Kalacuris were the two chief ruling dynasties in the Mahākosala area. In the period of Muslim rule followed by Maratha supremacy, many forts and fortresses were built

by the ruling chiefs[600] in different parts of Mahākosala. Dakṣiṇa Kosala is mentioned in the Ratnāvalī (Act IV) as having been conquered by Udayana, king of Vatsa.[601]

N.L. Dey[602] identifies Dakṣiṇa Kosala with Tosalī of Aśoka's inscription (Tosala) at Dhauli, which is situated near Bhuvaneśwar in the Puri district, Orissa. Sylvain Levi suggests an Austric origin for this wold. 'Kosala changing to Tosala is an apparent variation of the initial due to the formative prefix'[603] in the Austric languages. The country of Tosala also, like Kosala, had two divisions : Uttara Tosala and Dakṣiṇa Tosala.[604] Dakṣiṇa Tosala consisted of a maṇḍala of the name of Koṅgoda. In some cases by mistake the reading Dakṣiṇa kosala is given in place of Dakṣiṇa Tosala.[605] But it is clear from other evidence that Tosala and Kosala were two separate entities. The purāṇas mention them separately.[606] The Kāvya-mīmāṁṣā also makes a separate reference to the two.[607]

7. *Koṭṭūra* (No. I, L. 19) :
It is mentioned as one of the Southern kingdoms conquered by Samudragupta. Its ruler was Svāmidatta. It has been identified by N. Dubreuil with Kothoor in Ganjam.[608] Banerjee counts Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra among the three chiefs of Kaliṅga who obstructed the passage of Samudragupta through their country.[609]

According to Fleet Koṭṭūr (from Koṭṭapura) being a very common Dravidian name, may be looked for in any Koṭṭūra of note, in a mountainous part of Southern India, e.g. possibly Koṭṭūr in the Coimbatore district, at the foot of one of the passes in the Anaimalai Hills.[610] R. Sathianathaier proposes to identify Koṭṭūra with Koṭṭūra near Tuni (E. Godavari district) and maintains that Samudragupta did not pass through Orissa, Ganjam and Vizagapatam.[611] There is another Koṭṭūra in the Vizagapatam district.[612] But the generally accepted view is to indentify it with Kothoor in Ganjam.

8. *Kurāla* (No. I, L. 19) :
It has been mentioned as one of the kingdoms of Dakṣiṇāpatha subdued by Samudragupta. Its ruler was Manṭarāja. Fleet suggests that Kaurālaka is a mistake for Kairalaka, denoting the well known province Kerala in the South of India.[613] D.R. Bhandarkar[614] identifies this Kerala with the Sonpur

territory in C.P. round about Yayātinagara where the author of the Pavanadūta locates the Keralas. Barnett identified it with modern village Korāḍa in South India.[615] Kurāḷa is taken by Kielhorn[616] to be the same as Kunāla mentioned in the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II[617] and identified with the Kolleru lake between the Godavari and the Krishna.[618] But D.R. Bhandarkar[619] objects to this view on the ground that the Kolleru lake must have been included in the kingdom of Veṅgī mentioned later on[620] in the same list in the inscription. G.Ramdas[621] seems to be right when he observes that Kurāḷa must be the plain country of the Ganjam district to the north-east of the Mahendra hill now chiefly occupied by the Oriyas.

9. *Nepāla* (No. I, L. 22) :
It is mentioned as one of the border states which accepted the subordination of Samudragupta. Some take it to refer to Tippera[622] which is doubtful.[623] The city is said to have been founded by Ne ṛṣi who performed his religious services at the junction of the Bāgmatī and Kesāvatī and who also ruled over the country.[624] The Nepāla valley originally contained a lake called Nāga Bāsa or Kālihrada, in which lived Nāga Karkoṭaka. It was fourteen miles in length and four miles in breadth [625]

The former name of Nepāla was Śleṣmātakavana.[626] The famous temple of Paśupatinātha on the western bank of the Bāgmatī river, is situated about three miles north west of Kathmandu in the town of Devipatan said to have been founded by Aśoka's daughter Cārumatī.[627] The Śaktisaṅgama Tantra describes the country of Nepāla as placed between Jaṭeśvara and Yoginī.[628] Sircar equates Yoginīpura with Delhi and Jaṭeśvara with Jalpeśvara, the famous Śiva of the Jalpaiguri district in North Bengal.[629]

Nepāla was a buffer state in the 7th century A.D. In the 8th century A.D. she shook of its domination by Tibet.[630] According to the Deopara inscription, Nānyadeva, the ruler of Nepāla, is said to have been defeated and imprisoned with many other princes by Vijayasena, about the middle of the 12th century A.D.[631]

10. *Palakka* (No. I, L. 20) :
It has been mentioned as one of the kingdoms of Southern

India whose kings were first conquered and then released by Samudragupta. Its ruler was Ugrasena. Palakka has been identified with Palakkaḍa, the capital of a Pallava viceroyalty and was situated in the Nellore district.[632] Law is inclined to identify Palakkaḍa with Palakalūru in the Guntur taluka.[633] Allan and G. Ramdas locate it in the Nellore district.[634] Smith places Palakka in the Nellore district.[635] Dubreuil, however, identifies Palakka with a capital of the same name which was situated to the South of the Krishna and which is mentioned in many Pallava Copper Plates.[636] The kingdom of Palakka might have extended westwards beyond the region now occupied by the districts of Auddepal and North Arcot.[637] It was perhaps situated to the west of Kāñcī on the Eastern Ghāṭs.[638]

11. *Pratyanta* (No. 1, L. 22) :
It is mentioned in Inscription No. 1 that the kings of frontier (or border) states 'Samataṭa, Ḍavāka, Kāmarūpa, Nepāla and Kartṛpura' gratified the imperious commands of Samudrgupta, by giving all (kinds of) taxes and obeying (his) orders and coming to perform obeisance.[639] We also find a reference to Pratyanta in the Girnar Rock Edict No. 2 of Aśoka.[640]

Law[641] contrasts between Āryāvarta and Pratyanta. He takes Pratyanta to mean the Mleccha country and quotes the Amarakośa, Divyāvadāna, Abhidhānacintāmaṇi and Smṛticandrikā.[642] But in the inscription[643] the contrast is between Dakṣināpatha and Āryāvarta while the word Āṭavikarāja breaks the link between Āryāvarta and Pratyanta. Moreover, all the border states mentioned in the inscription could not have been Mleccha and inhabited by Kirātas.[644] The word Pratyanta and its substitutes in the Aśokan edicts also refer to the frontier states.

12. *Samataṭa* (No .1, L. 22) :
It is one of the frontier kingdoms which offered their submission to Samudragupta.[645] Sen[646] remarks that Samudragupta reduced the king of Samataṭa to the rank of a subordinate prince who had to part with most of his powers and was 'allowed to rule over a much reduced dominion as a vassal of the emperor'. Retaining only the control of its internal administration, he had to pay various kinds of taxes to Samudragupta, attend his durbars, render obeisance to him and gratify

his imperious commands.[647] Samataṭa is the only territory in Bengal to be referred to in the Allahabad Praśasti.[648] The first epigraphic reference to Samataṭa is to be found in this inscription.[649] Literally the name means 'the shore country' or 'Level country'.[650] 'Samataṭa in the Gupta period denoted a territory lying to the east of the Brahmaputra'. The Bṛhat-saṁhitā mentions it as a country situated in the East.[651] The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang proceeded from Kāmarūpa southwards and after a journey of 1,200 or 1,300 li (6 li-1 mile) reached the country of Samataṭa. According to him, this country was on the seaside and was low and moist and was more than 3,000 li in circuit.[652] From Samataṭa, the pilgrim journeyed towards the West for over 900 li and reached Tanmolihti,[653] or Tāmralipta, the modern Tamluk in the Midnāpur district.[654] Samataṭa, therefore, must have been the South-eastern part of the Bengal presidency corresponding to the Dacca, Faridpur, Backerganj, Jessore and Khulna districts.[655]

It is known from the Baghaura Inscription[656] that the Tipperah district was in Samataṭa. The Ārya-Mañjuśrī Mūla-kalpa states that Samataṭa was situated to the east of the Lohitya.[657] The Yādavaprakāśa equates Bhaurika with Samataṭa.[658]

Epigraphical evidence, however, shows that Samataṭa comprised the districts of Comilla, Noakhali and Sylhat.[659] Its capital Karmmanta has been identified with Baḍ-Kāmatā, 12 miles west of Comilla district.[660] After the rule of the Guptas, Samataṭa was successively under the Khaḍga, Candra, Varman and Sena dynasties.[661]

13. *Veṅgī* (No. 1, L. 20) :
Inscription No. 1 mentions it with its king Hastivarmman who was subjugated by Samudragupta. It seems to be an abbreviated form of Veṅgīpura by dropping the suffix Pura.[662] It is identified with Vegī or Peḍḍa-vegī, a village near Ellore Taluka between the Krishna and the Godavari rivers.[663] Banerjee describes it as one of the Pallava kingdoms of South.[664] But the capital of the Pallavas was Kāñcī. Veṅgī was the capital of the Cālukyan kings[665] and was also known as Vengai-nāḍu.[666]

NAMES OF LOCALITIES

1. *Avaḍara* (No. 46, L. 10) :
Kaivartti-śreṣṭhin is mentioned as the resident of Avaḍara.[667] Avaḍara is the only geographical name mentioned in the inscription. It appears to have been a locality near modern Supia, in Old Rewah State, from where the inscription has been found. The name is difficult to explain.

2. *Himavacchikhara* (No. 36, L. 5, L. 10) :
Literally meaning 'the peak of the Himalayas' it has been identified with Barāhachatra (Varāhakṣetra) in Nepal,[668] which is the same as the Kokāmukha tīrtha mentioned in the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas.[669] The original temples of the gods Kokāmukha and Śvetavarāha referred to in the record[670] along with Himavac-Chikhara, were situated at this place.[671]

3. *Naṣṭī* (No. 5, LL. 4-5) :
The second part of the word is not legible. It seems to have been the name of a town in the Sukuli deśa. The meaning of the word is not clear. It must have been a place near Sāñcī in the Madhya Pradesh.

4. *Pañcakulyavāpaka* (No. 37, L. 16) :
The Dāmodarpur Copper Plate Inscription of the time of Bhānugupta (No. 37) records that one kulyavāpa of land was purchased to the north of Pañcakulyavāpaka. Literally it means 'a plot of land five kulyavāpas in area : It seems to refer to a village or locality comprising five kulyavāpas of land.[672] A kulyavāpa is 'an area of land requiring one kulya measure of seed grains to be sown'.[673] This land measure differed in different ages and localities. Maity[674] gives this area of five kulyavāpas in terms of modern measurements as follows :

5 kulyavāpas = 1 pāṭaka = 192-240 bighās = 72-88 acres

and believes the lower figures to be more correct.

5. *Paraspatikā* (No. 37, L. 16) :
It seems to be the name of a locality. The metathesis of two letters 's' and 'p' seems to have worked here. Its correct Sanskrit form should have been 'Parapastikā'. The word 'prapasti' means a house, habitation or abode.[675]

6. *Trivṛtā* (No. 44, L. 2, L. 8, L. 15) :
In L. 2, two localities named Trivṛtā and Śrīgohālī have been

mentioned as connected with the village named Vāyigrāma.[676] Literally it means 'surrounded or covered by three sides'. It seems that when the locality was founded the city was surrounded by some natural boundary on its three sides. This may have been in the form of rivulets or streams or hillocks.

TRIBAL PLACE-NAMES

Following are the place-names which have tribal associations without any mention of the specific boundary :

1. *Āryāvartta* (No. 1, L. 12) :
Samudragupta is stated to have violently exterminated many kings of Āryāvarta such as Rudradeva, Matila, Nāgadatta, Candravarman, Gaṇapatināga, Nāgasena, Acyuta, Nandin and Balavarman.[677] We also find references to Āryāvarta in other epigraphic records.[678]

Literally Āryāvarta [679] means 'the abode of the Āryas, or excellent or noble people'. The word 'Ārya' here is significant. It has been interpreted in two ways : some scholars derive the word Ārya from the root √*Ar*, to plough, and suggest that the Vedic Āryans were so called because they despised the pursuits of agriculture and remained shepherds and hunters.[680]

"If *Ārya* were purely a racial term. a more probable derivation would be *Ar*, meaning strength or valour, from √ar to fight, whence we have the name of the Greek war-god Ares, areios, brave or warlike, perhaps even arete, virtue signifying, like the Latin virtues, first physical strength and courage and then moral force and elevation".[681] "Intrinsically, in its most fundamental sense, Ārya means an effort or an uprising or overcoming. The Āryan is he who strives and overcomes all outside him and within him that stands opposed to the human advance."[682] Wilson says that a variety of ancient designations of which 'Āria' is a component element (cf. Ariāna) are connected with the term Ārya. The Zend name for the country to the west of the Indus was 'Eriene-veejo', that is the Sanskrit Āryāvarta.[683]

In defining the boundaries of Āryāvarta, Vasiṣṭha and Baudhāyana in their Dharmasūtras lay stress on the word Ārya and explain it to mean *śiṣṭa*. Patañjali also in his Mahā-

bhāṣya first explains the meaning of *śiṣṭa* in order to draw attention to the cultural basis of the name Āryāvarta. He remarks that correct conduct is found in Āryāvarta and then mentions its boundaries.[684]

In the Brāhmaṇa period the centre of Āryan culture and civilization shifted to the Gangetic Doab "Āryāvarta came to be treated as conterminous with the region between the Gaṅgā and Yamunā.[685] In the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka[686] special honour is assigned to those who dwell between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā. In the Śutra period Āryāvarta extended from the hills of Central Rajasthan to the hills of Central Bihar.[687]

At the time of Patañjali,[688] Āryāvarta was bounded on the north by the Himalayas, on the south by Pāriyātraka, on the west by Ādarśāvalī and on the east by Kālakavana (Rajmahal hills) 'Black Forest' or rather Kanakhala, near Hardwar.[689]

Thus it seems that Āryāvarta bore a sacerdotal sense and denoted a particularly limited area where Āryan institutions were the basis of social order.[690]

What was originally called Āryāvarta was later named as Madhya-deśa and Āryāvarta came to include the whole of Northern India. This is related to the gradual spread of Āryanism.[691] Brahmāvarta and Brahmarṣideśa lost their identity in the Madhya-deśa and combined with Prācya, Pratīcya and Udīcya (Uttarāpatha) became the equivalent of Āryāvarta.[692] Both Udīcya and Prācya were taken as the home (loka) of standard Sanskrit both in Pāṇini's time and earlier. In the time of Patañjali, Āryāvarta came to be regarded as the home of the Śiṣṭas (persons proficient in the Śāstras) whose language set the norm.[693]

By the second century A.D., the last limit of the composition of the Manu-smṛti, the wider outlook of Āryāvarta was popular. It was the name of the tract extending from the Eastern to the Western Ocean, and bounded on the north and south by the Himalaya and Vindhya respectively.[694] This is supported by the Kāvyamīmāṁsā of Rājaśekhara.[695] Rājaśekhara speaks of the river Narmadā as the dividing line between Āryāvarta and the Dakṣiṇāpatha.[696] In Inscription No. 1, L. 29 Āryāvarta is contrasted with Dakṣiṇāpatha, 'the southern region'.[697] The wider sense of Āryāvarta is also supported by

references in the Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi[698] and the Rājataraṅgiṇī.[699]

2. *Kākanādaboṭa* (No. 5, L. 1; No.23, L.2) :
In both the inscriptions, we find reference to a grant to the Ārya Saṁgha or the Community of the faithful, at the great Vihāra, or Buddhist convent of Kākanādaboṭa,[700] for the purpose of feeding mendicants and maintaining lamps.

D.C. Sircar takes 'Kākanādaboṭa' to be the old name of Sāñcī.[701] Fleet is of the view that the Kākanādaboṭa convent is the Great Stūpa itself. According to him the word Boṭa is another form of Poṭa which means 'the foundation of a house'.[702] Fleet further writes that the name 'Kākanāda' lit. 'the noise of the crow' was the ancient name of Sāñcī itself which is proved by its occurrence in two inscriptions in Mauryan characters found at Sāñcī.[703]

Thus, it is clear that Kākanāda was the ancient name of Sāñcī in the Bhopal State, now Raisen district, Madhya Pradesh, well-known for its Buddhist topes.[704] The word 'boṭa' is thus a surplus and joined by 'Kākanāda' will refer to the great stūpa itself. Its form Poṭa meaning the foundation of a house is untenable bacause the word 'vihāra' in that very sense appears in the inscriptions. The word 'boṭa' has been used here in the sense of an ascetic cult.[705] It is a Prakrit word which has been used here to refer to 'the Buddhist cult'. Thus the relevant expression means 'in the holy great vihāra of the Buddhist cult (assembly) at Kākanāda'.

Fleet is wrong in translating the word Kākanāda to mean 'the noise of the crow'.[706] K.P. Jayaswal's rendering 'the praise of the Kākas'[707] is more to the point. We know of the Kākas, an autonomous community mentioned in the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta.[708] In Eastern Malwa we have two ancient place-names connected with the Kākas. One is the hill now called Sāñcī hill (the ancient) Kākanāda. The other is an ancient village called Kāka-pura, some 20 miles north of Bhilsa, and full of ancient monuments.[709]

3. *Uttara Kuru* (No. 22, L. 7) :
A person named Śaṁkara is described in the inscription as born in the region of the north, the best of countries, which resembles (in beautitude) the land of the Northern Kurus.[710]

The Kurus had two branches, the northern and the southern. Uttarakuru or the country of the Northern Kurus, is supposed to be a region beyond the most northern range of the Himālaya mountains, and is described as a country of everlasing happiness.[711] We have discussed in details, the Kurus, in the section on tribes. The Bṛhatsaṁhitā[712] mentions it as a country situated in the North. In the later period the Uttarakurus had only a mythical or legendary existence.

4. *Vaṅga* (No. 20, L. I) :
In this inscription, king Candra, "on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when in battle in Vaṅga countries, is stated to have kneaded back with his breast the enemies who, uniting together, came against him".[713] This is taken by scholars[714] to be the first epigraphic mention of Vaṅga. The Vaṅgas here mean the 'Vaṅga country' the eastern Bengal of modern times. Bajpai is of the opinion that the Vaṅgas of the Meharaulī Pillar Inscription of Candra (No. 20) are the people living in the Makaran coast of Baluchistan.[715] But the Vaṅgas here denote country and not the people. Moreover, the victory of king Candra over the Vaṅga countries has no connection with his conquest of the Vāhlikas. Both are separately mentioned in his campaign. In Sanskrit the tribal name in the plural is regularly used to indicate the country inhabited by the tribe.[716] The Vaṅga countries are also referred to in the Mahākūṭa Pillar Inscription,[717] but in the inscriptions after the 9th century A.D. the word Vaṅgāla is usually mentioned.[718]

The earliest mention of the Vaṅgas along with the Magadhas is in the Aitareya Āraṇyaka.[719] The name is also found in the Baudhāyana Dharma-Sūtra[720] where the Vaṅgas are mentioned as impure people.[721] But the Drama 'Pratijñā-Yaugandharāyaṇa' (Act II), ascribed to Bhāsa and probably not older than the 4th century A.D., suggests that the ruling families of Bengal were regarded as equals to those of Northern India for intermarriage with the royal family of Mālava.[722]

The people of Vaṅga are stated to have fought in the Kurukshetra war[723] and, in course of his expedition Bhīṣma is said to have defeated Samudrasena of Vaṅga.[724] The Kāśikā mentions Vāṅgaka to explain Pāṇini's sūtra (IV.3.100) denoting

loyalty of the citizen to the state.[725] Pāṇini mentions Vāṅgī (the lady of Vaṅga Janapada) along with Avantī, Kurū and Yaudheyī.[726] Patañjali also refers to the Vaṅgas by way of illustration.[727] Kauṭilya makes similar references to the country.[728] The Bhāgavata Purāṇa also mentions it as a country.[729] Kālidāsa states that Raghu after conquering the Sumhas,[730] defeated the Vaṅgas with his force.[731] The Kāvyamīmāṁsā mentions Vaṅga as a janapada situated in the east.[732] The Bṛhatsaṁhitā also mentions it in the east along with Upa-Vaṅga.[733].

According to the Mahābhārata[734] Vaṅga, son of Bali, had establishad this country. The Amarakośa[735] mentions Vaṅga as a synonym of Raṅga (lead), but lead is not available in Bengal and is found in abundance in Malaya, Pegu and East Indies. People in other parts of India may have received lead through the people of East Bengal. Suśruta also uses Vaṅga in the same sense as Amara does [736]

R.C Banerji[737], on the basis of the Ablur Inscription of the Kalacuri king Bijjala[738] takes Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla as two distinct people or tribes. This view has been correctly refuted by S.B.Chaudhuri[739] who concludes that Vaṅgāla was within Vaṅga and hence was not altogether a separate geographical entity as is maintained by some.

The confusion may be due to the fact that the geographical location of the Vaṅga country changed in different periods. The same country Vaṅga was known as Vaṅgāla with the addition of the Prakrit suffix '*āla*'[740] which was transliterated by the Muslims as Bangālah (pronouncing Bangāla) in their script[741] and this was changed into Bengal by the English people.

The Yādavaprakāśa equates Vaṅga with Harikeli[742] but the Kalpadrukośa, a work of the seventeenth century states that Śrīhaṭṭa is Harikeli.[743] The commentary of Yaśodhara on the Kāmasūtra refers to Vaṅga as situated to the east of the Brahmaputra.[744]

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2. iv. 42, 1; VII, 34, 11; 84. 2; X. 109, 3; 124, 4 etc., vide Vg. Vol. II, p. 223.

3. *Atharvaveda*, X.3.12; XII, X. 8; XIII, I, 35;
Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā, IX.23; XX. 8;
Taittirīya Saṁhitā, i, 6, 10, 3; iii, 5,7, 3; V. 7.4.4.
Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, 1,2, 1, 13, etc.
Maitrāyaṇī, Saṁhitā iii, 3, 7; 7.4, 8. 6; iv, 6, 3 vide Vg. Vol. II, p. 223.
4. Manu, VII, 157 : अमरकोष 2.8.17
5. अमरकोष 3.3.184
6. A.S. Altekar, (Kz)[2] (2nd edn.), p. 202.
7. GJ. XV, p. 257; GJ. XVI. 276.
8. Ed. by T. Gaṇapati Shastri, 18.7 :
नगरं वर्जयित्वान्यत् सर्वं जनपद स्मृतः ।
नगरेण समं कृत्स्नं राष्ट्रं देशोऽथ मण्डलम् ॥6॥
9. *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra*, ed. by T.G. Shastri, 10.83 :
नवग्रामसहस्राणि नवति (श्च ?) प्रचक्षते ।
चतुः षष्टिमपि ग्रामान् ज्यायो राष्ट्रं विदुर्बुधाः ॥
10. Ibid., 10.84
दशार्धं च सहस्राणि ग्रामाणां त्रिशती तथा ।
ग्रामाश्चतुरशीतिश्च मध्यमं राष्ट्रमीरितम् ॥
11. Ibid., 10.85
सहस्रमेकं ग्रामाणां तद्वच्च शतपंचकम् ।
द्यना च ग्रामपंचाशत् कनीयो राष्ट्रमुच्यते ॥
12. Ibid., 10.87
राष्ट्रेष्वेवं विभक्तेषु यथाभागं विधानवित् ।
निवेशयेत् पुराण्येषु सप्त सप्त यथागमम् ॥
Ed. D.N. Shukla, Hindi Trans., p. 108.
13. N.L. Dey, Nx. Preface, p. 2.
14. Wg. II Band (Volume), p. 363.
15. GJ. XXIV, p. 260 : GJ. XV, p. 257 : GJ. IX, p. 304 vide A.S. Altekar, (Kz)[2], pp. 201-202.
16. N.L. Dey, Nx. p. 55.
17. Diskalkar, Iz. Vol. I, part II, p. 34.
18. Fy. Vol. I, p. 116.
19. Yx. p. 150 Cf., IJ. Vol. XIII, pp. 88-89.
20. H.C. Raychaudhuri, Az. p. 454.
21. Jx. pp. 77-78, f.n. 15; GJ. XXIII. 57. 'The grant in question records that Anantavarman's grandfather Guṇavarman ruled over Devarāṣṭra, which must have been the kingdom of the same name conquered by Samudragupta, and is identical with a taluka in the Vizagapatam district. Although it is treated separately from Piṣṭapur in the emperor's Allahabad inscription, the plate of Anantavarman indicates that he was ruling over Davarāṣṭra, and Piṣṭapur was the chief city of the kingdom.
22. D.B. Diskalkar, Iz. Vol. I, Part, II, p. 34.
23. IJ. Vol. XIII. p. 89

24. No. 28, LL. 2-3 : मूलनागिरट्टप्रावेश्यनित्वगोह्गालीषु......
No. 28, LL. 8-9 : मूलनागिरट्टप्रावेश्य-नित्वगोह्गालीतः......
No. 28, L. 15 : मूलनागिरट्टप्रावेश्य-नित्वगोह्गालीतो......
Cf. B.C. Sen, (Kz)[1], p. 117.

25. L. 8. V. 11 : सर्व्वेषु भृत्येष्वपि संहतेषु, यो मे प्रशिष्यान्निखिलान्सुराष्ट्रान् ।
आं ज्ञातमेकः खलु पर्णदत्तो, भारस्य तस्योद्वहने समर्थः ॥

26. L.9. V. 12 : एवं विनिश्चित्य नृपाधिपेन, नैकानहोरात्नगणान्स्वमत्या ।
यः संनियुक्तोऽर्थनया कथंचित्, सम्यक्सुराष्ट्रावनि-पालनाय ॥

27. Ibid., verses. 11, 12

28. L. 9, V. 13 : नियुज्य देवा वरुणं प्रतीच्यां, स्वस्था यथा नोन्मनसो बभूवुः ।
पूर्व्वेतरस्यां दिशि पर्णदत्तं, नियुज्य राजा धृतिमांस्तथाभूत् ॥

29. H.D. Sankalia, **Pz.** p. 9.
30. Ibid., p. 50.
31. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 178, L. 11.
32. Ibid., p. 177, L.8. Cf. B.C. Law, **Yx.**, p. 298.
33. D.C. Sircar, Oz. p. 33.
34. काव्यमीमांसा, सप्तदशोऽध्यायः p. 236
35. बृहत्संहिता, XIV : V. 19, p. 121.
36. N.L. Dey, **Nx.** p. 183.
Daśakumāracarita, Chapter VI.
37. S.B. Chaudhuri, Jx. p. 152.
38. Ādikāṇḍa, Ch. XII : Ayodhyākāṇḍa X, Kiṣkindhyakāṇḍa, XLI
39. I.I.I.
40. B.C. Law, Yx. p. 298 ; Chaudhuri, **Jx.** pp. 152-53
41. B.C. Law, Yx. p. 298.
42. Ibid., p. 154.
43. **Fz.** p. 759, col. 3.
44. A.S. Altekar, **(Kz)**[2], p. 202.
45. Ibid., GJ. XXV, p. 265.
46. GJ. XV, pp. 129 ff. 'When the Mitākṣarā on Yāj. I. 319 states that only a king can make the grant of land and not a bhogapati, it is obviously referring to the head of this large territorial division' vide Ibid.; Altekar, (Kz)[2], p. 202 f.n. 2.
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49. N.L. Dey, Nx. Preface p. i.
50. K.K. Gopal, JJ., March and June 1963, p. 81.
51. **(Dx)**[1], p. 216, L. 6.
52. CJ. Vol. XV, pp. 104-117 : **GJ. XX**, p. 61.
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55. R.C. Majumdar, **Cg.** Vol. I, pp, 24-25.
56. B.C. Sen, **(Kz)**[1] p. 104.

57. VII, 18.
58. B.C. Sen, **(Kz)**[1] p. 104,.
59. XIV, p. 119, V. 7 :

    उदयगिरिमद्रगौडकपौण्ड्रोत्कलकाशिमेकलाम्बष्ठा :

60. काव्यमीमांसा, सप्तदशोऽध्याय: p. 235.
61. N.L. Dey, **Nx.** pp. 161-162 . B.C. Law, **Yx.** p. 247.
62. B.C. Law, **Yx.** p. 248.
63. **Fz.** p. 997, Col. I : from वि + सि to extend.
64. IV. 2.52-54
65. V. S. Agrawala, **Jy.** p. 37.
66. IV. 2.52.
67. V.S. Agrawala, **Jy.** pp. 497-98.
68. IV. 2.52-54.
69. IV. 2.54.
70. V.S. Agrawala, **Jy.** p. 498.
71. A.S. Altekar, **(Kz)**[2], p. 208.
72. R.C. Majumdar, **Cg.** Vol. I, p. 23.
73. **HJ.** 1910, p. 195, 204.
74. **XJ.** No. 66, p. 45, ff.
75. गया-वैषयिके-रेवतिका ग्रामे...
76. B.C. Law, **Yx.** p. 219.
77. R.L. Mitra's **S.** 1878 : Cunningham's Mahābodhi, 1892 : **Ex.** Vol. XII. (also his article in **LJ.** 1903, LXXII, No. 3, pp. 1-11) : B.M. Barua's *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*, Vols. I-II, 1934 : J.C. Ghosh's article in **NJ.** Vol. XXIV, 1938, pp. 89-111 : P.V. Kane's **(Zx)**[1]. Vol. IV, 1953, pp. 642-79 : Sircar, **Oz.** pp. 224-30 : For a Chinese Inscription at Buddha-Gayā : **HJ.** X, pp. 339-40. NJ. Vol. **XL.** Part I, 1954, pp. 1-7.
78. *Ṛgveda* X. 63.17 : X.64.17.
79. I. 14.4.
80. Kane, **(Zx)**[1]. Vol. IV, p. 645.
81. Ch. 112, 4-5, for story of Gayāsura, see Kane, **(Zx)**[1]. Vol. IV, pp. 656-57.
82. **S.** p. 17.
83. *Ṛgveda* I. 22.17.
84. निरुक्त 12.19 :

    त्रेधा निधत्ते पदम् । पृथिव्यामन्तरिक्षे दिवीति शाकपूणि: ।

    समारोहणे विष्णुपदे गयशिरसि इति और्णवाभ: ॥

    Aurṇavābha is believed by scholars to have flourished between 700 and 500 B.C. : See D.C. Sircar, **Oz.** pp. 229.
85. Sircar, **Oz.** p. 226.
86. Ibid., p. 227.
87. Ayodhyākāṇḍa, Ch. 107.
88. V. Ch. 15.
89. Ch. 34.
90. Ch. 107.

91. IV. Ch. 11.
92. Ch. 76.
93. XII. 87-88.
94. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch. 105 ff. etc.
95. D.C. Sircar, Oz. p. 224. Cf. M.S. Pandey, Bg. p. 122.
96. M.S. Pandey, Bg. pp. 122-23.
97. Ibid., p. 121.
98. N.L. Dey, Nx. p. 64.
99. Ch. 84, verses 82-98 : ch. 87. verses 8-12 : ch. 88, 14.
100. Ayodhyākāṇḍa, 107, 13.
101. Vāyu Purāṇa, II, chs. 105 ff : 'Gayā-māhātmya' : Kūrma Purāṇa, 30.45-48 : Brahma Purāṇa, 67.19, Agni Purāṇa, 109. Cf. D.C. Sircar, Oz pp. 225-26.
102. It has been discussed in detail by Kane in his *History of Dharma-śāstra* Vol. IV., pp. 662-79, L.S.S.O.' Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers*, Gayā Vol. III, 1906, pp. 59-72.
103. विज्ञापिता इह खादा (टा) पार-विषये...
104. B.C. Sen, (Kz)[1], p. 110.
105. Ibid.
106. महाखुषापार D.C. Sircar, Hz. p. 288, f.n. 5.
107. B.C. Law, Yx. p. 230.
108. B.C. Sen, (Kz)[1], p. 107.
109. Majumdar, Cg. Vol. I, p. 25 : Law, Jx. p. 188, f.n.4.
110. JJ. XIX, p. 224 'Yādavaprakāśa on the Ancient Geography of India'.
111. Vol. I, chap. XXIII, v. 196.
112. Xy. p. 262, col. 2, see कोटीवरिस.
113. B.C. Sen, (Kz)[1], p. 106.
114. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, 390.
115. Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, 32.
116. B.C. Sen, (Kz)[1] pp. 106-107.
117. Ibid., p. 106 : UJ, 1896, p. 112 : LJ (NS), Vol. V, pp : 215-16.
118. Fz. p. 926, col. 3, Cf. Bhāratavarṣa.
119. S.M. Ali, (Ox)[1]. pp. 7 and 52.
120. 3.3. 56.
121. In the Vedic times we said, "जीवेम शरद: शतम्"
See समा: (Cf. Summer) for year : "मा निषाद ! प्रतिष्ठां त्वमगम: शाश्वती समा:, उत्तररामचरित 2 5; काव्यमीमांसा, तृतीयोऽध्याय: पृ० 18. The use of वर्ष (वर्षा) is very popular now-a-days.
Vasanta was also used : 'कति वसन्ता: यापिता: भुवि ?'
122. D.C. Sircar, Oz. p. 197.
123. XJ. No. 66, pp. 34, 54.
124. D C. Sircar, Oz. p. 197.
125. Monghyr Plate of Devapāla, GJ., XXVIII, p. 304 ff.
126. I, 31, 24-28 '..............कृमेस्तु कृमिलापुरी ।'

127. 99, 18-22.
128. III. 74.
129. Sy. D.C. Sircar, "The City of Kṛmilā" ; M.S. Pandey, **Bg.** p. 159.
130. **(Dx)**[2] Vol. I, pp. 604-06.
131. D.C. Sircar, Sy. pp. 275-76.
132. Ibid.
133. M.S. Pandey, Bg. p. 159.
134. Vol. II, p. 642 (Pt. II, Pali Text Society)
135. M. S. Pandey, Loc. cit., p. 159.
136. D.C. Sircar, Oz. p. 196.
137. Ibid., p. 197.
138. D.C. Sircar, 'The ancient city and district of Kṛmilā', **JJ.** XXVI, June 1950, No. 2 : Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, V. 558.
139. लाट-विषयान्नगावृत्त-शैलाज्जगति प्रथित-शिल्पा: ॥
140. H.D. Sankalia, **Pz.** p. 9, Cf. N.L. Dey, **Nx.** p. 114.
141. N.L. Dey, Nx. p. 114.
142. Ibid.
143. **GJ.** XXIV, Pt. III, July 1937, p. 110.
144. Ibid., IX. pp. 278-80, **LJ.** Vol. VIII, p. 292; Dey, **Nx.** p. 114.
145. Pali Lālaraṭṭha
146. B.C. Law, Yx. p. 287.
147. Ibid.
148. D.C. Sircar, **Oz.** p. 79 : Śaktisaṅgama Tantra, Book III, Chapter VII. v. 55.

अवन्तीत: पश्चिमे तु वैदर्भाद्दक्षिणोत्तरे ।
लाटदेश: समाख्यातो...

149. **Qy.** pp. 38, 152-53.
150. **Fz.** p. 900, col. 2.
151. N.L. Dey, Nx. p. 114.
152. वैव्यवैषयिक
153. Xy.p. 822, col. 2.
154. VI. 1.2 (Arthaśāstra); Manu, VII, 155-57.
155. K.K. Gopal, **JJ.** March to June 1963, pp. 83-4.
156. H.D. Sankalia, **Pz.** p. 43.
157. No. 28, LL. 1-2...दक्षिणांशकवीथेय-नागिरट्ट—
माण्डलिक............
158. **Fz.** p. 775, col. 3.
159. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.**, p. 360, f.n. 1.
160. No. 52, L. 7
...उत्तरमाण्डलिक-कान्तेडदक-ग्रामे...
161. **(Dx)**[1]. p. 21.
162. If connotation is the same as in Mauryan period. See Altekar, **(Kz)**[2], p. 206. Rajjukas who may correspond to the modern Divisional Commissioners were also known as Prādeśikas.
163. **(Dx)**[1]. p. 161 : The word viṣaya means a district, **L. 7** :

164. स्वविषयेऽस्मिन्नेरिकिणे कारितः ।
स्वभोगनगरैरिकिण-प्रदेशे ॥

165. **Ay.** p. 141.

166. **(Dx)**[1], p. 21.

167. **PJ.** Vol. XIV, 1935, p. 29.

168. विप्रैरथान्यैर्वर्णैर्वा भोग्यो ग्राम उदाहृतः,
एको ग्रामणिको यत्र सभृत्यपरिचारकः ।
कुटिकं तद्विजानीयादेकभोगः स एव तु,
जनैः परिवृतं द्रव्यं क्रय-विक्रयकारिभिः ॥

169. **PJ.** Vol. XIV, 1935, p. 29.

170. See the inscription, **(Dx)**[1], pp. 20-21.

171. **(Dx)**[1], pp. 160-61.

172. Ibid., **PJ.** Vol. XIV, 1935, p. 29 : See editor's note.

173. Ibid., 'For a certain large division, the administrator is given as his salary the revenues of a nagara. Anybody, therefore, who governed a division in which Eraṇ was an important city or even the Capital city, with the revenues of which allotted to him as assignment instead of salary, would be entitled to describe it by the term as svabhoga'.

174. **(Dx)**[1], pp. 160-61.

175. Ibid., p. 18, see also f.n. 2.

176. एरिकिण-एरकण-एरण ।

177. **Fz.** p. 232, col. I. In vernacular it is known as Erakā.

178. Ibid. p. 496, col. 2.

179. **(Dx)**[1], pp. 32-33, f.n. 7.

180. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, viii, 10.

181. xxxiv, 11.

182. See Mleccha in the Chapter on the 'Names of the Tribes'.

183. **Fz.** p. 875, col. I.

184. **Vg.** Vol. II, pp. 220-21.

185. viii, 12.4.5. Cf. Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra, XVII. 16, 3.

186. Airāvata : from Irāvat, a descendant of Irāvat : name of a nāga or mythical serpent, Atharvaveda VIII, 10.29. Name of Indra's elephant (considered as the prototype of the elephant race) : produced from ocean. See **Fz.** p. 234, col. 2.

187. No. 35, LL. 2-9.

188. **Fz.** p. 1005, col. 1 : Vīthi is perhaps formed from $\sqrt{}$vī : cf. I. vīta : In Punjabi language vitha means a place in between the two things. Vīthī is that which possesses a vitha. We know the formation of a street—it possesses the row of houses on both the sides and place in between is named as Vīthī.

189. No. 28, LL. 1-2 : स्वस्ति (॥) पुण्ड्रवर्द्धनादायुक्तकः आर्य्यनगरश्रेष्ठि-पुरोगञ्चा-
धिष्ठानाधिकरणम् दक्षिणांशकवीथेय नागिरट्टमाण्डलिक-पलाशाट्टपार्श्विक...

190. No. 28, LL. 1-2.

191. **BJ.** Vol. IX, Oct. 1927, Pt. I. Earnest P. Horrwitz, **Bx.** p. 300.

192. Fz. p. 582, col. 2, V.S. Apte; Gz. Vol. II, p. 958.

193. ed. by T.G. Sastri, 10/12 : ed. D.N. Shukla, Hindi Trans. p. 1.3.

194. Baudhāyana Dharma-Sūtra, i, 1, 2, 13 vide Vg. I, p. 336. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, IV, 17, 8 : Chāndogya Upaniṣad, VIII, 6, 2. vide Vg. II, p. 141.

195. No. 43, LL. 22-23 : पाश्चिमेन गुल्मगन्धिका-ग्राम-सीमानभि (श्चे) ति कुल्यबा (वा) प (मे) को गुल्मगन्धिकायां पूर्व्वेणाद्यपथः ।

196. No. 1, L. 20 : सर्व्वदक्षिणापथराज-ग्रहण-मोक्षानुग्रहजनित-प्रतोपान्मिश्र-महाभाग्यस्य

197. No. 1, LL. 19-20 : कौसलकमहेन्द्र-माहाकान्तारकव्याघ्रराज कौरालकमण्टराज-पैष्टपुरकमहेन्द्रगिरि-कोट्टूरकस्वामिदत्त रण्ड-पल्लकदमन-काञ्चेयकविष्णुगोपावमुक्त-कनीलराज-वैङ्गेयक-हस्तिवर्म्म-पाल्लकोग्रसेन-दैवराष्ट्रक-कुबेर-कौस्थलपुरक-धनञ्जय-प्रभृति-सर्व्वदक्षिणापथराज...

198. D.C. Sircar, Hz. pp. 193 and 195.

199. Ibid., p. 178.

200. D.C. Sircar, Hz. p. 205, L. 11.

201. Deccan is the anglicised form of 'Dakkhan' which is a corruption of the original Dakṣiṇāpatha.

202. i, 1, 2, 13.

203. X. 61, 8.

204. Vg. Vol. I, p. 337.

205. N.L. Dey, Nx. p. 52 : B.C. Law, Yx. p. 14.

206. Dey, Nx. p. 52.

207. JJ. XIX, p. 214, Yādavaprakāśa on the 'Ancient Geography of India'.

208. काव्यमीमांसा, सप्तदशोऽध्याय,: पृ० 236

माहिष्मत्याः परतो दक्षिणापथः । यत्र महाराष्ट्रमाहिषकाश्मकविदर्भकुन्तलक्रथकैशिक-सूर्पारककाञ्चीकेरलकावेर-मुरलवनवासक-सिंहलचोडदण्डकपाण्ड्यपल्लवगाङ्गनाशिक्य-कौङ्कणकोल्लगिरिवल्लर-प्रभृतयो जनपदाः ।

209. i, 53, 7 : 58, 8 : 131, 4 : 166, 8 : iii. 15. 4 : iv. 27.1 etc. vide Vg. Vol. I, p. 538.

210. Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, I. 11, 18, 31, 4.

211. Amita Ray, Xg. p. 47.

212. Ibid.

213. B. p. 285—note : p. 523—

Tamil : Purai 'house, dwelling, small room, Malyalam : pura 'house (esp. thatched house), but, room...Sanskrit pura ... cf. Amara-Kośa, 3.3.184 gives the meaning of Pura as house, city etc.

214. Alois Walde : Wg. II Band (Volume) : Manfred Mayrhofer : A.I. 1953.

215. H.R. Hall, Tz. 1952, pp. 190-91.

216. A.S. Altekar, (Kz)², p. 225.

217. Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, i, 7, 7, 5 : Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, i, 23 : ii. 11 : Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, iii, 4, 4, 3 : vi, 3, 3, 25 : xi, I, I, 2, 3 : Chāndogya Upaniṣad, VIII, 5, 3 etc. vide Vg. Vol. I, p. 538.

218. Fz. p. 635, col. 2-3. Cf. V.S. Apte, Vol. II, p. 1031 :
अमरकोष, पुर् 2.2.I : अमरकोष, पुर (न) 3.3.184

219. *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* (ed.) T. Ganapati Shastri, 10/1 : (ed.) D.N. Shukla, p. 103.

पुरस्य त्रिविधस्यापि प्रमाणमथ कथ्यते ।
प्राकारपरिखाट्टालद्वाररथ्याध्वभिः सह ॥१॥

220. Ibid., 10/2, (ed.) D.N. Shukla, p. 103.

ज्येष्ठं तत्र चतुश्चापसहस्रं पुरमिष्यते ।
मध्यं द्वाभ्यां सहस्राभ्यामेकेन व्यासतोऽधमम् ।।

221. T. Burrow, (Mg)[1], pp. 82, 86 : V.S. Apte, Vol. II, p. 1031 : full of filled with—

222. पूः (=पुर्) अमरकोष 2.2.1

223. पुर (पुरम्, नपु.) अमरकोष 3.3.184.

224. BJ. Vol. IX, Oct. 1927, Part I., Bx. p. 300.

225. H.D. Sankalia, Pz. p. 72, f.n. 1.

Pura originally, as the author of Mirāt-e-Ahmadi, supplement, says, was a suburb, or a place colonised by a Muslim king or his officer.

226. N.L. Dey, Nx., Preface, p. 2.

227. V.S. Agrawala, Jy. p. 66.

228. Taittirīya Saṁhitā, VI. 2, 3, 1 : Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā, xxiv. 10 : Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā, iii, 8.1.

229. Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, i, 23, 2 : Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, ii, 2, 7.

230. Vg. Vol. II, p. 141.

231. (Dx)[1], p. 47.

232. M.S. Pandey, Bg. p. 116 ; GJ. XVII, pp. 310-27.

233. According to Prof. K.C. Chattopadhyaya, the vṛddhi in Candrā pura is grammatically incorrect. The vṛddhi is desirable only in the first letter.

234. No. 17, LL. 3-4, verse 5 :

ते देश-पार्त्थिवगुणापहृताः प्रकाशमद्ध्वादिजान्यविरलान्यसुखान्यपास्य ।
जातादरा दशपुरं प्रथमं मनोभिरन्वागतास्सुत-बन्धु-जनास्समेत्य ॥

235. (Dx)[1], p. 80.

236. No. 17, L. 19.

237. No. 17, LL. 16-17, verse 29 :

तस्मिन्नेवक्षितिपति-वृ (वृ) षे बंधवर्म्मण्युदारे,
सम्यक्स्फीतं दशपुरमिदं पालयत्युन्नतांसे ।
शिल्पावाप्तैर्द्धन-समुदयैः पट्टवायैरुदारं,
श्रेणीभूतैर्भवनमतुलं कारितं दीप्तरश्मेः ॥

238. No. 17, LL. 20-21.

239. (Dx)[1], p. 79 ; B.C. Law, Yx. pp. 280-81.

240. (Dx)[1], pp. 79-80.

241. D.C. Sircar, Hz. p. 410, L. 2.

242. No. 17.

243. XIV, p. 120, V. 12 :

आकर्देशावर्त्तकदशपुरगोनर्दकेरलकाः ॥

It mentions that this city in South.

244. Pt. I, V. 48.

245. (CJ)[1]. Vol. IV, p. 99, L.2.

246. (Dx)[1], p. 79, see f.n. 2.

247. Ibid.

248. Ibid.

249. **HJ**. Vol. XV, p. 195.

250. Ibid.

251. (**Dx**)[1], p. 70, L. 5.

252. Ibid., p. 71, see translation, LL. 5-7.

253. D.C. Sircar, **Hz**. p. 319, L. 5, Ibid., f.n. 8 : Ibid., f.n. 9 : Sircar translates :

"चेन्द्रापुरक-पद्मा-चातुर्व्विद्य-सामान्य-ब्राह्मण-देवविष्णुर्देवपुत्रो...।

as="The brāhmaṇa Devaviṣṇu who is the son of Deva and belongs to the community of the Chaturvedins of (the locality called) Padmā in (the town called) Indrapura", Jagannath, *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Lahore, 1940, p. 59.

254. D.C. Sircar, **Hz**. p. 319, f.n. 8.

255. No. I. LL. 19-20 : कौसलकमहेन्द्र-माहाकान्तारकव्याघ्रराज-कौरालकमण्टराज-पैष्टपुरकमहेन्द्रगिरि-कौट्टूरकस्वामिदत्तैरण्डपल्लकदमन-काञ्चेयकविष्णुगोपावमुक्तक नीलराज-वैङ्गेयक—हस्तिवर्म्मपालक्ककोग्रसेनदैवराष्ट्रककुबेर-कौस्थलपुरकधनञ्जयप्रभृति-सर्व्वदक्षिणापथराज...

256. Fleet (**Dx**)[1], p. 69.

257. **Fz**. p. 166, col. 3 : Ibid, p. 167, col. 1 : We find the form Indravat but in some cases (Ṛgveda iv, 27, 4 and x. 101, 1) we find the form Indrāvat, i.e. associated with or accompanied by Indra.

258. Indrapura—Indraura—Indor.

259. D.C. Sircar, **Hz**. p. 318., No. 27.

260. (**Dx**)[1], p. 68.

261. Ibid.

262. N.L. Dey, **Nx**. p. 96, also see p. 95.

263. B.C. Law, **Yx**. p. 97.

264. समतट-डवाक-कामरूप-नेपाल-कर्त्तृपुरादिप्रत्यन्तनृपतिभिः ।

265. V.A. Smith, **Gx**. p. 302, Cf. H.C. Raychaudhuri, **Az**. (4th ed.), p. 457.

266. **UJ**. 1898, p. 198.

267. D.B. Diskalkar, **Iz**. Vol. I, part II, p. 39 : **JJ**. I, p. 257.

268. **PJ**. Vol. XIV, 1935, pp. 30-33.

269. Ibid., p. 30.

270. Cf. Puruṣapura——Peshawar——Pashaur

There is still a small town named Karor in the triangle formed by

the rivers Chenab and Sutlej.

271. E.C. Sachau, **J.** ii, 6.
272. **PJ.** XIV, p. 30.
273. R.C. Majumdar, **Cg.** Vol. I, p. 50.
274. Ibid.
275. **JJ.** Vol. 6, p. 53:
महा-नौ-हस्त्यश्व-जयस्कन्धावारात् श्रीपुराद्...।
276. B.C. Sen, **(Kz)**[1], p. 94.
277. R.C. Majumdar, **Cg.** p. 50.
278. D.B. Diskalkar, **Iz.** Vol. I, part II, p. 36.
279. Ibid.
280. **Wx.** p. 74, f.n. 1.
281. **JJ.** 1, p. 254; Calcutta Review, 1924, p. 253 note.
282. D.B. Diskalkar, **Iz.** p. 37.
283. **Fz.** p. 297, col. 1.
284. Pargiter, **M.** p. 279 : Chaudhari, **Jx.** p. 64.
285. Dey, **Nx.** p. 111.
286. If two similar syllables come together in Sandhi, one is dropped.
287. **Fz.** p. 1261, col. 3.
288. H.D. Sankalia, **Pz.** p. 54; Boethlingk and Roth, 1282 : Abhidhāna. IV, 2386.
289. **Pz.** p. 55.
290. कौत्सश्शाब इति ख्यातो वीरसेनः कुलाख्यया ।
शब्दार्थ-न्याय-लोकज्ञ⁀कवि⁀पाटलिपुत्रकः ॥
291. दण्डैर्ग्राह्यतैव कोत-कुलजं पुष्पाह्वये क्रीडता...
292. Girnar, Rock Edict No. 5, L. 7 (Hultzsch) p. 9:
···पाटलिपुते च बाहिरेसु च ।
293. विविध तीर्थकल्प, पृ० 68
तच्च पाटला (पाडलि) नाम्ना पाटलिपुत्रं पत्तनमासीत् ।
असमकुसुमबहुलतया च कुसुमपुरमित्यपि रूढम् ॥
294. 6.2.4 : प्रासादवातायनसंश्रितानां नेत्रोत्सवं पुष्पपुराङ्गनानाम् ।
295. 2.3 ; and 4.16.
296. 3.78 : तदिदं दिव्यं नगरं मायारचितं सपौरमतएव ।
नाम्ना पाटलिपुत्रं क्षेत्रं लक्ष्मीसरस्वत्योः ॥
297. All. S.I. of Samudragupta (No. 1) L. 6 : सत्काव्य-श्री-विरोधान्...
Cf. परस्परविरोधस्य तस्य राज्ये कथैव का ।
संगतं श्रीसरस्वत्योरपि येन प्रवर्त्तितम् ॥
GJ. I., p. 209.
298. काव्यमीमांसा, दशमोऽध्याय,: पृ० 143
श्रूयते च पाटलिपुत्रे शास्त्रकारपरीक्षा
अत्रोपवर्षवर्षाविह पाणिनिपिङ्गलाविह व्याडिः ।
वररुचिपतञ्जली इह परीक्षिताः ख्यातिमुपजग्मुः ॥

For the grammarians, see : Jy. p. 12.

299. Verse 782. Cf. 'Nandapura'. **Bg.** p. 135.

300. V.S. Agrawala, Jy. pp. 11-12.

301. VII. 3.14.

302. *Mahābhāṣya*, I. 1.2. 'Anuśoṇam Pāṭaliputram'.

303. Kāśikā, IV. 2.123. 'Ropadhetoḥ Prācām' : Jy. p. 75.

304. J.J. Modi, QJ. Vol. XXVI. "Ancient Pāṭaliputra" p. 461.

305. GJ. XVII, p. 321.

306. Rock Edict 2, L.2.

307. B.C. Law, Yx. Satiyaputra, pp, 186-87: Keralaputra, pp-163-64. Dr.Pandey in the *Historical Geography and Topography of Bihar*, pp. 136-37 writes "No other city of ancient India known to us had a name ending in putra".

'The illustrious city, i.e. the city par excellence', Majumdar, **Cg.** Vol.I. p. 273.

308. U.N. Roy, Lz. p. 93.

309. Watters, **Vy.** II-87.

310. U.N. Roy, op. cit., p. 93.

311. **QJ.** XXVI, p. 462, f.n. 4.

312. **QJ.** XXVI, p, 463 : There is some difference in the description : see Vividhatīrthakalpa, pp. 67-71 ; U. by Samuel Beal (1884), Vol. II, pp. 82-85 ; 'Legendary Origin of Patna', **HJ.** Vol. III, pp. 149-50; U.N. Roy, op. cit., p. 93.

313. **Bg.** pp. 135-36 ; B.C. Law, Yx. pp. 249-50.

314. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, ch. 99.319 : Gārgī Saṁhitā, lines 9-12; **NJ.** (1928) p. 401; UN. Roy, **Lz.** p. 92.

315. U.N. Roy, **Lz.** p. 92.

316. Ibid., pp. 95-106.

317. S.C. Vidyabhushan, **Cy.** p. 349.

318. V.A. Smith, **Gx.** pp. 310-11. Also see for further details **QJ.** XXVI, pp. 464-68.

319. **QJ.** Vol. XXVI, p. 468.

320. No. I, L. 20. सर्व्वदक्षिणापथराजग्रहणमोक्षानुग्रहजनितप्रतोपन्मिश्रमहाभाग्यस्य...

321. **GJ.** XXIII, pt. III, July, 1935, p. 97 : B.C. Law, **Yx.** p. 182.

322. D.B. Diskalkar, **Iz.** Vol. I, Part II, p.36 : **GJ** XII, p. 2 :
B.C. Law, **Yx.** p. 182.

323. **IJ.** XIII, pp. 85-90 : N.L. Dey, **Nx.** p. 157.

324. **GJ.** XXIII, p. 57.

325. Chaudhuri, **Jx.** p. 77, also see f.n. 15 : B.C. Law **Yx.** p. 182.

326. No. I. L. 20.

327. कलिङ्गा महि्षाश्चैव महेन्द्रनिलयाश्च ये ।
एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् पालयिष्यति वै गुहः ॥
see **IJ.** XIII, pp. 85-90.

328. **IJ.** XIII, pp. 85-90.

329. Ibid.

330. रघुवंश, चतुर्थ सर्ग, श्लोक 43.
गृहीतप्रतिमुक्तस्य स धर्मविजयी नृपः ।
श्रियं महेन्द्रनाथस्य जहार न तु मेदिनीम् ॥
331. IJ. XIII, pp. 85-90.
332. B.C. Law, Yx. p. 182.
333. Fleet, (Dx)[1], pp. 113, 116, 132, 138.
334. Ibid., 113, f.n. 2.
335. **Fz.** 525, col. 1.
336. Agrawala, Jy., p. 65.
337. **Fz.** 534, col I.
338. **Vg.** Vol. I, p. 432.
339. *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* by T.G. Shastri, 187; Hindi trans. D.N. Shukla, (ed.) p. 99.
340. Ibid 10/79-81 : Hindi trans. D.N. Shukla, p. 108.
341. **Vg.** Vol. I, p. 539.
342. Hopkins, Jour. of the Amer. Orient. Soc., Vol. 13, 77, 174.
343. N.L. Dey, **Nx.** Preface, p. 2.
344. No. 44, L. I : स्वस्ति (11)पञ्चनगर्य्यां भट्टारकपादानुध्यातः
कुमारामात्यकुलवृद्धिरेतद्विषयाधिकरणञ्च...।
345. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 356, f.n. 2 Pāncbibi may have come through Prakrit Pancanaari modified to Pancanari.
346. No. 52, L. 28 : पूर्वेण चूडामणिनगरश्रीनौयोगयोर्म्मध्ये जोला ।

There are two possible explanations : 'Between Cūḍāmaṇinagara and Śrīnauyoga', or between the nauyogas (places for parking boats) of Cūḍāmaṇi and Nagaraśrī...Hz., p. 344, f.n. 4. The second explanation is more plausible. If we take the first explanation then it may mean 'at the town of Cūḍāmaṇi', the ephithet śrī is then ill construed with nauyoga. Moreover, we know from line 29 of the inscription, nauyoga as an epithet for Praḍāmāra. So nauyoga is the epithet here and Cūḍāmaṇi and Nagaraśrī are two place-names here.

347. **Fz.** p. 401, col. I.
348. No. 52, L. 29 :
349. **Xy.** pp. 514-15 :
पड (पट) वस्त्र, कपड़ा
पडमा (पटवत्) पटवाला, वस्त्र वाला

Pāla-boat : It denotes the boats which are covered with cloth to control the fast wind and thus this covered cloth acts as its protector (pāla) against the wind.

350. **Fz.** p. 243, col. 2-3.
351. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 289, L.12.
352. Ibid : प्रा ...तृकटक-वास्तव्य-छन्दोग-ब्राह्मण-वराहस्वामिनो दत्त (त्तम्) (1).
353. From √वस to live. **Fz.** p. 947, col. 3; Ibid., Cf. बासा a sleeping or a bed-chamber, modern बासा for Hotel and restaurant, usually used by Marwaris.

354. No. 40, L. 1 : जयस्कन्धावारानन्दपुरवासकात्...।

355. (Dx)[1], p 257. Fleet translates 'situated at Ayodhya' which is wrong. Vāsaka is a 'place-name termination' here Cf. No. 5, L. 6 (Īśwaravāsaka), No. 40, L. I 'Ānandapuravāsaka'.

356. No. 39, LL. 10-11 : आयोध्यक-नानागोत्रवरणतप:

स्वाध्याय-मन्त्र-सूत्र-भाष्य-प्रवचन-पारग...।

357. काशीखण्ड 23. 7 :

काञ्च्यवन्ती द्वारवती काश्ययोध्या च पञ्चमी ।

मायापुरी च मथुरा पुर्यः सप्त विमुक्तिदा: ।।

358. Ādipurāṇa, XII. 78 :

विनीतजनाकीर्णा विनीतेति च सा मता ।

359. p. 24 : अउज्झा अवज्झा कोसला विणीआ, साकेयं

इक्खागुभूमी रामपुरी कोसल त्ति ।

360. B.C. Law, Yx. p. 67.

361. Asiatic Researches, XX, p. 442.

362. Sarga, XIII, V. 79 : XIV, V. 13.

363. Loc. cit., p. 24 : Hemakoṣa quoted by N.L. Dey in his Nx. p. 174

364. Pathak, Dy. p. 55.

365. Narain, Fg. Appendix, IV, p. 175; NJ. XIV, 402.

ततः साकेतमाक्रम्य पञ्चाला माथुरास्तथा ।

यवनाश्च सुविक्रान्ताः प्राप्स्यन्ति कुसुमध्वजम् ।।

The other reading quoted by Dr. V. Pathak is :

ततः साकेतमाक्रम्य पाञ्चालान् मथुरांस्तथा ।

यवना दुष्टविक्रान्ता प्राप्स्यन्ति कुसुमध्वजम् ।।

Pathak refers to the verse as appearing in the Bṛhatsaṁhitā, which is obviously a mistake.

366. Cunningham, Sz. p. 405.

367. Dey, Nx. p. 14.

368. Rāmāyaṇa, I. 5.6 :

अयोध्या नाम तत्रास्ति नगरी लोकविश्रुता ।

मनुना मानवेन्द्रेण पुरैव निर्मिता स्वयम् ।।

V. Pathak, Dy. p. 50.

369. B.N. Puri, Ax. pp. 12-13.

370. Ibid., p. 14.

371. Muktikopaniṣad, ch. I.

372. Dey, Nx. p. 14.

373. B.N. Puri, Ax. pp. 14-15.

374. No. 5, L. 6 : ईश्वरवासकं पञ्चमण्डल्यां प्रणिपत्य ददाति...

375. (Dx)[1]. p. 31.

376. GJ. II, p. 99.

377. XIV, V. 15 : तुम्बवनकार्मणेयकयाम्योदधितापसाश्रमा ऋषिका: ।

काञ्चीमरुचीपट्टनचेर्यार्यकसिंहला ऋषभा: ।।

378. No. I, L. 21 : Diskalkar, **Iz.** Vol. I, Part II, p. 35.
379. **HJ.**, 1926, p. 229.
380. Diskalkar, **Iz.**, p. 35.
381. **GJ.**, XVII, p. 362 : R.D. Banerji, **Fy.** Vol. I, p. 115.
382. No. 28, L. 25, V. 5 :

विन्ध्याटवीष्वनम्भस्सु, शुष्क-कोटर-वासिनः ।
कृष्णाहिना (कृष्णाहयो) हि, जायन्ते देवदायं हरन्ति ये ॥

383. **Fz.** p. 373, col. I.
384. i, 44, 10 : 114, 1 : ii.12.7 : x.146, 1 : 149, 4 etc.
Av. iv. 36, 7-8, V, 17, 4 : VI, 40. 2 etc.
Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā, iii, 45 : xx. 17 etc.
385. Chāndogya Upaniṣad, VIII, 6, 2.
386. **Vg.** Vol. I, p. 244.
387. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben,* 144.
388. Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, iii. 13, 4.
389. **Vg.** Vol. I, p. 245, Cf. Baden Powell, *Village Communities in India,* 85.
390. iv, 2, 22.
391. *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* (ed.) T.G. Shastri, 10/83-87.
392. Ibid., 10/79
393. Ibid., 18/2-4.
394. Dey, **Nx.** Preface, p. 2.
395. Pandey, **Bg.** p. 161.
396. **GJ.** XV, p. 71.
397. Ibid., II, p. 105, No. 74.
398. Sircar, **Hz.** pp. 290-91 f.n. 4 : Konow thinks that there is reference to the village Bhāraḍi.
399. B.C. Sen, **(Kz)**[1], p. 108.
400. **Xy.** p. 312.
401. The reading is checked by me.
402. **Fz.** p. 396, col. 1.
403. It has been variously explained by scholars :
(i) Sircar, **Hz.**, p. 337 f.n. 3 "The peak of the Himālayas"
(ii) Basak, : **GJ.** XV, p. 140. "The Summit of the Himālaya"
(iii) Sen, **(Kz)**[1], "the top of a snowy mountain"
The explanation of Sircar is more explicit.
404. D.C. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 337, f.n. 3; **Oz.** pp. 217-23.
405. See note 403.
406. No. 36, LL. 5-8 : अनेन श्रेष्ठिरिभुपालेन विज्ञापितं...दातुमिति ।
407. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 348 : LL. 8-9 : i.e. No. 37 in the list.
408. Nos. 34 and 36, Sircar also agrees to it. Sircar, **Oz.** p. 218.
409. **Xy.** p. 373, col. 3, col. 2.

डोंगर=डुंगर (=दे) शैल, पर्वत, गुजराती "डुंगर"

cf. डोगरा (for man) in Nepal and Kashmir; डोगरी (language).

410. No. 37, L. 8 : Cf. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 348, f.n. 3.
411. R.C. Majumdar, **Cg.** Vol. I, pp. 24,400 and note 3.
412. **Oz.** p. 218; **Hz.** p. 337, f.n. 3.
413. **Xy.** p. 300, गोट्ठ (गोष्ठ) = गौवाड़ा, गौओं के रहने का स्थान
414. **Fz.** p. 631, col. 2.
415. No. 43, L. 22 : पश्चिमेन गुल्मगन्धिका-ग्राम-सीमानभि (श्चे) ति कुल्यबा (वा) प (ए) कोगुल्मगन्धिकायां...।
416. **Fz.** p. 360, col. 2.
417. Ibid., p. 345, col. 3. The word gandhikā has been used as the name of a country for gaodikā, see also p. 346.
418. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 344, f.n. 3.
419. Sen, **(Kz)**[1], p. 493. 'Ambila-gramāgrahāra' is mentioned in the Nandapur grant.
420. Ibid., pp. 493-94.
421. **Xy.** p. 17.
422. **Fz.** p. 6.
423. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 360, f.n.1.
424. No. 15, L. 5 : ख्यातेऽस्मिन् ग्रामरत्ने ककुभ इति जनैः साधुसंसर्ग-पूते ।
425. **(Dx)**[1], p. 66.
426. Ibid., p. 66 : **CJ.** Vol I, p. 21 ff.
427. No. 52, LL. 7-8 : परिभोगाय विहारे (च) खण्ड-फुट्ट-प्रतिसंस्करणाय उत्तर-माण्डलिक-कान्तेडदक-ग्रामे सर्वतो भोगेनाग्रहारत्वेनैकादश-खिल-पाटकाः पञ्चभिः खण्डैस्ताम्रपट्टेनातिसृष्टाः ।
428. No. 52, L. 27 : उत्तरेण नादडदकग्राम-सीमेति ।
429. No. 21, L. 7.
430. Pandey, **Bg.** p. 130 ; Bengal Village Directory, Vol. XXVII p. 166.
431. **Fz.** p. 887, col. 3.
432. Sircar, **Hz.** pp. 352-54. See the transliteration in LL. 2 and 20.
433. Ibid., p. 354, L. 20.
434. Ibid., pp. 360-61. See the transliteration. While in this inscription it is clearly with short 'i':

No. 43, L. 2 संगोहालिषु, Cf. No. 28, L.3 नित्वगोहालीषु : L.9, L.15 नित्व-गोहालीतो; L. 7 वटगोहलीतो; L. 12 वटगोहाली: = (**Hz.** p. 360).

435. Vaṭodaka=Vaṭa+udaka.
436. **Fz.** p. 914. col. 3.
437. No. 30, LL. 4-5 : वटोदके साधुजनाधिवासे ।

श्रीदेव इत्यूर्जितनामधेयः ॥

438. **GJ.** XXVI, p. 117, f.n.I.
Compare Agodaka (Agrodaka) on coins=Agroha :
Pṛthūdaka=Paoha.
439. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 355; **Oz.** p. 218 : Sen, **(Kz)**[1], p. 109.
440. No. 44, L. 2 : वायिग्रामिक-त्रिवृता-श्रीगोहाल्योः...।
441. **Fz.** p. 942, col 3.

442. Ibid., p. 610, col. 2.

443. Ibid., घोष आभीरपल्ली स्यात्-अमरकोष 2.2.20.

444. Illustrated Ardhamagadhi Dictionary (IA) III/528 : Abhidhānarājendra, V. 729, vide **Pz.** p. 53.

445. Winternitz, **By.** II, 434.

446. Barbarians—**Fz.** p. 638, col I.

447. विधाय कुटिकां यत्र पत्रशाखा तृणोपलैः ।
पुलिन्दाः कुर्वते वासं पल्ली स्वल्पा तु पल्लिका ॥6॥

Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra, of king Bhojadeva (ed.) by T. Gaṇapati Shastri, Vol. 1, 1924, 18.6.; (ed.) by D.N. Shukla, p.99.

448. (Mg)[1], "Non-Aryan Influence on Sanskrit", p. 384.

449. Dey, **Nx.** second edition, 1927, Preface, p.1.

450. **UJ.** 1898, pp. 369-70.

451. Diskalkar, **Iz.** Vol. I, part II, p. 33.

452. **GJ.** XII, p, 212.

453. **JJ.** I. p. 682.

454. **Fy.** Vol. I, p. 116.

455. Ibid., p. 116.

456. **JJ.** I.p. 682.

457. Majumdar, **Pg.** p. 145.

458. Diskalkar, **Iz.** Vol. I, Part II, p. 33.

459. **Fz.** p. 232, Col. I, Cf. निरस्तपादपे देशे एरण्डोऽपि द्रुमायते Eraṇḍa seems to be a non-Āryan word.

460. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 360, f.n. 1 : **Fz.**, p. 367, col. I from Sanskrit gośālā=a cow-stall. Another Prakrit form is gosāla see p. 303, col. 3 : it has been used here to denote a country : **GJ. XX**, p. 60.

461. No. 28, LL. 3, 7, 9, 12, 15.

462. No. 43, L. 2.

463. No. 28, L. 18 : उपरि-निर्दिष्ट-ग्राम-गोहालिकेषु......

464. No. 44, L. 24 : एषु यथोपरिनिर्दिष्टक-ग्राम-प्रदेशेष्वेषां...।

465. The reading has been checked by me.

466. No. 44. L.2.

वायिग्रामिक-त्रिवृत (ा)—श्रीगोहाल्योः......।

467. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 360, f.n. I : **(Kz.)**[1], p. 117.

468, **Fz.** p. 914, col. 3.

469. No. 44, L. 2.

470. **Fz.** p. 914, col. 3.

471. V.S. Apte, **Gz.** Vol. II, p. 1015 : पार्श्वे भवः ठक् ।

472. **Xy.** p. 25.

473. **Fz.** p. 614, col. 3 : Apte, **Gz.** Vol. II, p. 1008.

474. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 342, f.n. 4.

475. Sankalia, **Pz.** p. 56.

476. **Fz.** p. 1275, col. 2.

477. Ibid., p.65, col. I.

478. Ibid., p. 1003, col, 3.
479. GJ. XXVII, p. 13, see No. 32, verses 18 and 11.
480. Fz. p. 332. col. I.
481. Vg. Vol. I, pp. 210-11.
482. X.33.6.
483. i, 110, 5.
484. i, 100,18 : ix. 85,4 : 91. 6 : *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*, ii,2,11. The wider sense of 'place' also occurs V. 2, 3: 45, 9 : VI, 47, 20 etc., and often later.
485. iv, 18, 5 : V, 31, 4 : X.1.18 : XI, 1,22 : *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, ii, 2,1,2 : *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VII, 24,2 etc.
486. Atharvaveda ii, 29, 3 : XIV, 2,7 : *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* i, 4, 1 : 15.16 etc.
487. Ṛgveda, IV. 37,1,2 : VII, 35, 10 : X. 66, 13 : Atharvaveda, ii, 8, 5.
488. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 138.
489. Dey, Nx. Preface, p. 2.
490. Xy. p. 279, col. 2-3.
491. Ibid., col. 2.
492. Hindi and Gujarati Khera, Agrawala, Jy. p. 66.
493. T.G. Shastri, (ed.) 10/79 : for Hindi trans. D.N. Shukla, p. 108 :
नगरस्य विभागोऽयं यथावद् समुदीरित: ।
खेटं तदर्धविष्कम्भमाहुर्ग्रामं तदर्धत: ॥79॥
494. Fz. p. 340, col. 2.
495. K.L. Lele, *Studies in the historical and cultural geography and ethnography of Rajaputana*, Poona Univ. Thesis, 1962 , p. 84.
496. Vide, Ibid., see Paul Whelly, VJ. II, 37.
497. JJ. VI, p. 52.
498. Ibid., p. 45.
499. Ibid., p. 45 "These words mostly non-Sanskritic in origin, survive in modern dialects through a millenium and a half, with very little change in their form or meaning".
500. Fz. p. 1011, col. I.
501. We also find a kind of 'Sun' known as Lolārka.
502. S.K. Chatterji, Hg. pp. 65-66.
503. Fz. p. 775, col. I.
504. Xy. p. 690, col, I; p. 668, col. 3.
505. Ibid., p. 799, col. 2 : p. 636, col. I : p. 635, col. 3 Cf. Fz., p, 985 col. 2 : vilāla=a yantra or machine, bilāla=a cat :
cf. Sen, (Kz)[1], p. 93 : Vilāla=Sk,. an instrument, a machine :
cf. bilāla=a cat used as a totem or a combination of bil and al.
506. JJ. VI, p. 49.
507. Hz. p. 335, f.n. 3.
508. T. Burrow (Mg)[1], 'Non-Aryan influence on Sanskrit', p, 384 : biḍāla, birāla ('Cat'), Tamil, Malayalam : veruku, Kannada : berku.
509. Cf. Vaidya-kṣetra, ahead.
510. Xy. p. 378, col. 3.

511. Ibid. , See णक्ख (नख)
512. from√अर्च् पूजायाम्
513. Agrawala, Jy. p. 190.
514. S.K. Chatterji, Hg. Part I, p. 65. Yugma-setu for Jora-Sako.
515. Sen, (Kz)[1], p. 94.
516. Apte, Gz. Vol. II, pp. 944-45. Cf.पक्कण: पक्कश:
517. See, notes 505 and 508.
518. Fz. 1003, col. 3 : Monier Williams, *Buddhism*, pp. 68, 81.
519. Sen, (Kz)[1]. p. 93 : Sircar, Hz. p. 343, note. 8.
520. GJ. II. p. 389. No. 311 : also see p. 369.
521. अंगविज्जा, Introduction, p. 47.
522. Fz. p. 871, col. 3.
523. V. S. Apte, Gz. p. 1036, Col. II.
524. Sircar, Hz. p. 345, f. n. 2 : JJ. VI, p, 56, f. n. I.
525. Ibid., p. 344, f. n. I.
Cf. Xy. p. 482 :
दोसज्ञ=दोष का जानकार, विद्वान् ।
526. Sircar, Hz. p. 344, f. n. I.
527. Ibid., p. 345, f. n. I.
528. Cf. see Pakka-vilāla in the place-names ending in kṣetra.
529. No. I, L. 20.
530. Kane, (Zx)[1], Vol. IV, p. 626.
531. H. C. Raychaudhuri, Az. p. 453, also see note 5.
532. Diskalkar, Iz. Vol. I, Part II, p. 33, see in Kanchi.
533. Ibid., p. 39.
534. Ibid.
535. Ibid., p. 39 : JJ. p. 257.
536. Barua, Zz. p. 42 : Law, Yx. p. 216.
537. B. C. Law, Yx. p. 216.
538. Pg. p. 142 : see f. n. I ; D. C. Sircar, Hz. pp. 265-66, f.n. 4.
539. Pg. p. 142.
540. Cunningham, Sz. p. 500
541. Ibid.
542. Sircar, Oz. pp. 86-87 : Śaktisaṅgama Tantra, Book III, ch. VII, V. 10.
543. Ibid., p. 87 : Law, Yx. p. 226.
544. Dey, Nx. p. 87 ; Puri, Ax. pp. 85-88.
545. GJ. II, p. 353, LL. 48-49 ; Chaudhuri, Jx. p. 172.
546. Chaudhuri, Jx. p. 172, see also f. n. 3; JJ. XIX, p. 214.
547. रघुवंशमहाकाव्यम्, चतुर्थ: सर्ग: श्लो० 81-84.
548. B. S. Upadhyaya, *India in Kālidāsa*, p. 63.
549. Chaudhuri, Jx. p. 172.
550. बृहत्संहिता XIV, 6, p. 119.
551. काव्यमीमांसा, अध्याय 17, p. 235.
552. Chatterji, Hg. pp. 77-78.

553. Dey, **Nx**. p. 87 : Puri, **Ax**. p. 85.
554. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg**. p. 145 ; Law, **Yx**. p. 161
555. Diskalkar, Iz. Vol. I, Part II. p. 33.
556. B. N. Puri, **Ax**. p. 31.
557. GJ. Vol. 6, p. 84 : GJ. Vol. I, p. 2 : GJ. Vol. VIII, p. 24. Cf. R. Gopalan, Gy. (1928)
558. ——— for more details : Puri, **Ax**, p. 31 ; R. D. Banerji, **Fy**. Vol. I, p. 116.
559. Puri, **Ax**. p. 31.
560. Kielhorn, (ed.), *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. II, p. 298.
561. Beal, **U**. Vol. II, p. 230
562. Kane, (Zx)[1], Vol. IV, pp. 711-12.
563. अयोध्या माया मथुराकाशी काञ्ची अवन्तिका ।
पुरी द्वारवती चैव सप्तैते मोक्षदायकाः ॥ ;See **Dy**. p. 52 note
564. IV, 19, 15.
565. III. 124.
566. Kane, (Zx)[1], Vol. IV, p. 712.
567. VIII. 38.8.
568. XII. 50 : पुष्पेषु जाती नगरेषु काञ्ची नारीषु रम्भाश्रमिणां गृहस्थः ।
569. Ch. I, 19-23.
570. X. 79, 14.
571. I. 17.
572. Law, **Yx**. p. 161.
573. Puri, **Ax**. p. 33, B.C. Law, **Yx**. p. 162.
574. Kane, **(Zx)**[1], Vol. IV, p. 712 : Law, **Yx**. p. 162.
575. Puri, **Ax**. pp. 33-34.
576. R. S. Tripathi, **Zx**. p. 454 : **Oy**. 1936, pp. 304-7.
577. Puri, **Ax**. p. 34.
578. No. 28, L. 6 : वटगोहाल्यामवास्याङ्काशिक-पञ्चस्तूपनिकायिक-निग्रन्थश्रमणा-
चार्य्य- गुहनन्दि-शिष्यप्रशिष्याधिष्ठितविहारे...।
579. Kāśīkhaṇḍa, 26. 67 : 30. 5.
580. Kane, **(Zx)**[1], Vol. IV, pp. 624-25.
581. Law, **Tg**. p.102.
582. Kane, **(Zx)**[1], pp. 624-25.
583. Law, **Yx**. p. 46 : **Vg**. Part I, p. 153, f. n. I.
584. Law, **Yx**. p. 46. Banarasi or Vārāṇasī was named so as it confined the area between Varaṇā and Asi rivers : Chaudhuri, **Jx**. p. 60 : Dey, **Nx**. p. 95.
585. **HJ**. Vol. XV, pp. 138-141, LL. 9-10 :
प्रतिष्ठान-भुक्तौ वाराणसी-विषय-सम्बद्ध-काशी-पारपथके प्रतिबद्ध-तिक्करिका-ग्राम......।
586. Chaudhuri, **JX**. p. 61.
587. Pt. I, p. 72 : अस्त्यत्रैव दक्षिणे भारतार्धमध्यखण्डे काशिजनपदालङ्कृतिरुत्तर-वाहिन्या त्रिदशवाहिन्याऽलङ्कृतधनकनकरत्नसमृद्धा वाराणसी नाम नगरी गरीय-

सामद्भुतानां निधानम् ।

588. Chaudhuri, **Jx.** p. 60.
589. Dey, **Nx.** p, 95.
590. Puri. **Ax.** pp. 38-39.
591. Ibid., p. 39.
592. Ibid.
593. Kielhorn, (ed.), *Mahābhāṣya*, Vol. II. p. 413
594. Law, **Yx.**, p. 47.
595. Kane, (**Zx**)[1], Vol. IV, p. 624 ff.
596. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 265, f. n. I : Chaudhuri, **Jx.** pp. 64-66 : **GJ.** III, pp. 351-54 : **GJ.** XI, p. 184.
597. Sircar, op. cit., p. 265, f. n. I : Chaudhuri, op. cit. p. 64.
598. R. D. Banerji, **Fy.** Vol. I, p. 115 : Dey, **Nx.** pp. 103, 117.
599. K. D. Bajpai, 'The Cultural Heritage of Mahākosala' vide **FJ.** No. 28, July 1965. (Ministry of Education, Govt. of India), p. 37.
600. Ibid., p. 39.
601. Dey, **Nx.** p. 104.
602. Ibid., p. 104.
603. A. C. Woolner, 'Prakrit and Non-Aryan Strata in the Vocabulary of Sanskrit', vide **Kz.** p. 70.
604. Chaudhuri, **Jx.** p. 72.
605. Ibid., p. 72 : also see f. n. 6 : **GJ.** VI, p. 141, L. 21.
606. Sircar, **Oz.** p. 34. तोशला: कोशलाश्चैव त्रैपुरा वैदिशास्तथा ।
607. काव्यमीमांसा सप्तदशोऽध्याय: p. 235
यत्राङ्गकलिङ्गकोसलतोसलोत्कल......।
608. Banerji, **Fy.** Vol. I, pp. 115-16, Law, **Yx** p. 167.
609. Banerji, **Fy.** Vol. I, pp. 115-16.
610. (**Dx**)[1], p. 8.
611. Majumdar, **Pg.** p. 146, f. n. I.
612. Vizagapatam District Gazetteer, I, 137 : Law Yx. p. 167.
613. (**Dx**)[1], p. 7, f. n. I. The reading has been checked by me and is found to be 'Kauralaka.
614. **JJ.** I, p. 252.
615. *Calcutta Review*, Feb. 1924, p. 253 note : Cf. Raychaudhuri, **Az.** pp. 452-53.
616. **GJ.** VI. p. 3, f. n. 3 : Diskalkar, **Iz.** Vol. I, part II, p. 35.
617. Diskalkar, **Iz.** p. 130, v. 28.
618. Cf. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 265, f. n. I.
619. Diskalkar, **Iz.** p. 35.
620. No. I, L. 20.
621. **JJ.** Vol. I, p. 685.
622. **LJ.** 1837, p. 973.
623. Law, **Yx.** p. 113.
624. Daniel Wright, **Ey.** p. 89 : Regmi, **K.** pp. 4-5, 11-12.
625. Dey, **Nx.** p. 140.
626. B. C. Law, **Yx.** p. 113

627. Law, Yx. pp. 113-14.
628. Sircar, Oz. p. 77
629. Book III, ch. VII. v. 36 :
"जटेश्वरं समारभ्य योगिन्यन्तं महेश्वरि । नेपालदेशो देवेशि...।
630. Law, Yx. p. 113.
631. GJ. I, p. 309.
632. Majumdar, Pg. p. 145 : Sircar, Hz. p. 265, f. n. I : JJ. Vol. I, p. 686; Raychaudhuri, Az. p. 453.
633. Law, Yx p. 179 : Pandey. Wx. p. 74 f. n. I.
634. Smith, Gx. p. 301.
635. JJ. I., p. 686.
636. Diskalkar, Iz. Vol. I, Part. II, p.34.
637. Ibid..
638. Ibid., p. 33, See Kāñcī.
639. No. I.L. 22 : समतट-डवाक-कामरूप-नेपाल-कर्त्तृपुरादि-प्रत्यन्तनृपतिभि :......।
640. LL. 2-3 : एवमपि प्रचंतेषु (प्रत्यन्तेषु) यथा चोडा पाडा सतियपुतो केत (र) लपुतो आतंबपंणी अन्तियको योनराजा...।
641. JJ. XXV, No. I, pp. 110-12.
642. Ibid.
643. No. I, L. 20.
644. JJ. XXV, pp. 111-2.
645. No. I, L. 22 : समतट-डवाक-कामरूप-नेपाल-कर्त्तृपुरादिप्रत्यन्तनृपतिभिः ...।
646. Sen, (Kz)[1], pp. 208-09.
647. No. I, LL. 22-23 : सर्व्व-कर-दानाज्ञाकरण-प्रणामागमन-परितोषित-प्रचण्ड-शासनस्य...।
648. Sen, (Kz)[1], p. 209.
649. Chaudhuri, Jx. p. 165.
650. Ibid., p. 166 : Law, Yx. p. 247 : 'It was so called because the rivers in it had 'flat and level banks of equal height on both sides'.
651. बृहत्संहिता Chap. XIV, p. 119 v. 6.
652. Vy. Vol. II, pp. 188-89.
653. Ibid., p. 189.
654. Padmanath Bhattacharya, UJ. 1920, January, Part I, "To the East of Samataṭa", pp. 2-3.
655. Ibid., 'This is the locality shown as Samataṭa in the map appended, to Watters' volumes by V.A. Smith.
656. GJ. XVII, p. 353 : Chaudhuri, Jx., p. 167.
657. JJ. XIX, p. 214.
658. JJ. XIX, *Yādavaprakāśa* on the Ancient Geography of India p. 214.
659. Dey, Nx. p. 175 : LJ, 1915, pp. 17-18.
660. JJ. I., 256 : Law Yx. p. 257.
661. Law, Yx. pp. 257-58.
662. Ibid., p. 200.

663. Ibid.; Majumdar, **Pg.** p.145 : Bombay Gazetteer, Vol I, Pt. II, p. 280; Raychaudhuri, **Az.** p. 453.

664. Banerji, **Fy.** Vol. I. p. 116.

665. Diskalkar, **Iz.** Vol. I, Part II, p. 33.

666. Law, **Yx.** p. 200.

667. No. 46, LL. 10-11.

668. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 337, f.n. 3.

669. Sircar, **Oz.** p. 222.

670. No. 36, LL. 5-10.

671. Sircar, **Oz.** p. 222.

672. Maity, **Ix.** p. 38.

673. Sircar, **Ly.** p. 165.

674. Maity, **Ix.** p. 41.

675. Apte, **Gz.** Vol. II, p. 1000

Cf. प्रपस्त्यामदितिं सिन्धुमर्कैः स्वस्तिभील सख्याय देवीम्
—Ṛgveda. 4.55.3 : 8.27.5

पस्त्यावत् is called a householder in Veda, Ṛgveda, I. 151. 2 : 2.11.16. In the Kīrtikaumudī; we find the word पस्त्यम् used for a house, habitation or abode :

पस्त्यं प्रयातुमथ . . . Kir. K. (Bombay) 9.74.

676. No. 44. L. 2 : वायिग्रामिक-त्रिवृता-श्रीगोहाल्योः......।

677. No. 1. L. 27 : रुद्रदेव-मतिल-नागदत्त-चन्द्रवर्म्म-गणपतिनाग-नागसेनाच्युत-नन्दि-वर्म्माद्यनेकार्य्यावर्त्त राज-प्रसभोद्धरणोद्धृतप्रभावमहतः......।

678. **GJ.** Vol. I. p. 93; XIII. pp. 17-27; XVIII, p. 51, verses 28-35.

679. Ārya+āvarta. Āvarta is a crowded place where many men live close together or it can mean an 'abode' : **Fz.**p. 156; Apte, **Gz.** Vol. I, p. 356.

680. Kewal Motwani, *Manu Dharma Śāstra*, "A Sociological and Historical Study", p. 374.

681. Ibid., p. 374.

682. Ibid.

683. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, London, pp. 121-22, **Jx.**p. 133, f.n.I.

684. Law, "Aryavarta" **JJ.** XXV, No. I, pp. 114-15. Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra I.1. 5-6,2.9-10, 1.1.25 : 1.2.6, 1.3-7, 1.8 : Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini VI.3.109, II.4.10.

685. Law, **JJ.** XXV, No. 1, p. 120 : **Vg.** II, p. 125 Cf. Baudhāyana, II, 2.16 :

प्रागदर्शनात्प्रत्यक्कालकवनाद्दक्षिणेन हिमवन्तमुदक् पारियात्रमेतदार्यावर्त्तम् ।
तस्मिन् य आचारः स प्रमाणम् । गंगायमुनयोरंतरमित्येके ।

686. II.2.

687. **Vg.** Vol. II, p. 125 : see Madhya-deśa.

688. Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini, VI. 3.109 : II.4.10 : Dey, **Nx.** p. 12.

689. See on Kanakhala, Hultzsch, **HJ.** 34, 179.

690. B.C. Law, **JJ.** XXV, No. I, p. 121.

691. Rangaswami Aiyangar, *Rājadharma*, p. 50 : Sircar, **Oz.** p. 172, f.n. 3.

692. Chaudhuri, **Jx**. p. 8.

693. Agrawala, **Jy**. p. 39.

694. Manu smṛti, 2, II, 22 :
आ समुद्रात्तु वै पूर्वादासमुद्रात्तु पश्चिमात् ।
तयोरेवान्तरं गिर्योः आर्यावर्त्तं विदुर्बुधाः ॥

695. राजशेखर, काव्यमीमांसा, अध्याय 17, पृ० 235 :
पूर्वापरयोः समुद्रयोर्हिमवद्विन्ध्ययोश्चान्तरमार्यावर्त्तः ।

696. Bālarāmāyaṇa, Act 6, V.S. Apte's *Rājaśekhara, his life and writings*, p. 21.

697. Cf. **(Dx)**[1], p. 13, f.n. 5.

698. Bhavanagar edn. p. 397.

699. राजतरङ्गिणी-कोश
p. 14 : 5.152. 1.313. 1,341, 6.87.

700. No. 5, L. 1 : No. 2, L. 2 : काकनादबोट-श्री-महाविहारे.......

701. Sircar, **Hz**. p. 281, f.n.3.

702. **(Dx)**[1], p. 31 also see f.n.I.

703. Ibid., p. 31 :
(i) काकणाये भगवतो पमण-लठि
"the measuring staff of (Buddha), the Divine one, at Kākanāda".
(ii) "सपुरिसस गोतिपुतस काकनाद-पभासनस कोडिन-गोतस" :
"(the relics) of the virtuous Prabhāsana of Kākanāda, the Gotiputra, of the Kauṇḍinya gotra".

704. Cf. Dey, **Nx**. p. 83 : Sircar, **Hz**. p. 280.

705. Cf. **Xy**. p. 639 :
बोटिय (बोटिक): दिगम्बर जैन सम्प्रदाय, वि. दिगम्बर जैन सम्प्रदाय का अनुयायी...
"बोडियसिव भूईओ बोडियलिंगस्स होइ उप्पत्ती . . .

706. **(Dx)**[1]. p. 31.

707. **NJ**. Vol. XVIII, 1952, Pt. II, p. 212.

708. No. I, L. 22 : **(Dx)**[1], pp. 8,14.

709. Jayaswal, 'The Kākas...their location" **NJ**, Vol. XVIII, 1932, Pt. II, pp. 212-13. P. 212 'Kākapura is situated on a river and a hill opposite the village by the road has two square temples and a few Gupta Sculptures. A large number of pillars and Sati memorials cover the plain in front of the temple hill. Medieval inscriptions are also in evidence. They with the temples testify to the continued importance of the place, from the Gupta to the medieval period.

710. No. 22, LL. 6-7.

711. **(Dx)**[1] ,p. 260, f.n. 4.

712. XIV.V. 24 :
उत्तरतः कैलासो हिमवान् वसुमान् गिरिधनुष्मांश्च ।
क्रोञ्चो मेरुः कुरवस्तथोत्तराः क्षुद्रमीनाश्च ॥

713. No. 20, L. I : यस्योद्वर्त्तयतः प्रतीमुरसा शत्रून्समेत्यागतान्वङ्गेष्वाहववर्त्तिनोऽभि-

लिखिता खड्गेन कीर्त्तिर्भुजे ।

714. Law, **Tg.** p. 265 : Chaudhury, **Jx.** p. 181 : though it occurs in another earlier inscription (GJ. XXI, 85ff) but the reading is disputed : Ibid., p. 181, f.n.4.

715. Bajpai, **Ry.** p. 358.

716. Pāṇini 4. 2. 81; **Jz.** p. 72.

717. GJ. Vol. V.

718. **IJ.** Vol. II, p. 755 : Law, **Yx.** pp. 268-69.

719. ii. 1.1 : **Vg.** Vol. II, p. 237.

720. i,l,14.

721. Chaudhuri, **Jx.** p. 179.

722. Chatterji, **Hg.** Vol. I. p. 76.

723. Mahābhārata, VII, 159.3.

724. Chaudhuri, Jx. p. 180.

725. **Jy.** p. 432.

726. **IV**, 1. 176-78 : Agrawala, **Jy.** p. 91.

727. IV. I.4, Keilhorn's edition, II, p. 282.

728. Artha-Śāstra (Shamashastri, ed.), p. 82.

729. IX, 23.5.

730. रघुवंश 4.35

731. Ibid., 4.36.

732. काव्यमीमांसा अध्याय ३, पृ० २०, अथ सर्वे प्रथमं प्राचीं दिशं शिश्रियुर्यत्राङ्गवङ्ग-
सुह्मब्रह्मपुण्ड्राद्या जनपदा :

733. XIV. p. 119, V. 8 :
आग्नेय्यां दिशि कोशलकलिङ्गवङ्गोपवङ्गजठराङ्गा ।

'Upa-Vaṅga is commonly identified with some portions of the Gangetic Delta'. Chaudhuri, **Jx.**, p. 182.

734. आदिपर्व, अध्याय 104, श्लो० 52-55

तां स दीर्घतमाङ्गेषु स्पृष्ट्वा देवीमथाब्रवीत् ।
भविष्यन्ति कुमारास्ते तेजसादित्यवर्चसः ॥ 52
अङ्गो वङ्गकलिश्च पुण्ड्रः सुह्मश्च ते सुताः
तेषां देशाः समाख्याताः स्वनाम कथिता भुवि ॥53
अङ्गस्याङ्गोऽभवद्देशो वङ्गो वङ्गस्य च स्मृतः ।
कलिङ्गविषयश्चैवकलिङ्गस्य च स्मृतः ॥54
पुण्ड्रस्य पुण्ड्राः प्रख्याताः सुह्माः सुह्मस्य च स्मृताः
एवं बलेः पुरा वंशः प्रख्यातो वै महर्षिजः ॥55

735. अमरकोश 2.9.106 रवङ्गवङ्गे p. 348.

In Punjab bangles are called 'Vaṅga'. Firstly they might have been made by Vaṅga (lead). Sikhs still use Kaṛā made of lead as a mark of their religion.

736. Jz. Introduction, p. 47.

737. **IJ.** Vol. II, pp. 755-56.

738. GJ. V.p. 257.

739. Chaudhuri, **Jx**. pp. 184-85.

740. The derivation of Abul Fazl 'vaṅga+al (Sanskrit āli 'dike'), Majumdar, **Cg**. Vol. I, p. 19, seems to be incorrect : Sircar, **Oz**. 'Bengal', p. 132).

"The prakrit suffix 'āla' gives the same sense as "vat' or "ālu" in Sanskrit : Cf. Jaḍāla=Sansk.Jaṭāvat : Jo-hāla=Jyotsnāvat : Sihāla= Śikhāvat. See R. Pischel Grammatic der Prakrit—Sprachen, 402, 505. The term 'vaṅgāla' may thus represent Vaṅgāvat, applied to a country inhabited by the Vaṅgas. Also see Mādhava Campu, 26. Vide **Jz**. मूमिका p. 46 : "अस्ति तावद् वङ्गनामा देशः यस्मिन् पारावारसदृश्यः पद्मावती-प्रभृतयः तरङ्गिण्यः समुल्लसन्ति । यत्र च पावनो ब्रह्मपुत्रनामा महानदो मज्जन्जन्तून्पावयति । तस्यायमीश्वरः प्रभूतसेनात्मजो वीरसेनाह्वयः । वङ्गालक्षोणिपालस्त्रिभुवनजनतागीतकीर्तिप्ररोहः ।

741. Sircar, **Oz**. p. 131 .

742. **JJ**. XIX, X p. 214 ff. : **IJ**. VII, p. 411.

743. Ibid., pp. 219-20 : Sircar, **Oz**. p. 125.

744. वङ्गो लोहित्यात्पूर्वेण, of Yaśodhara on Vātas. Sūtra (VI. 5.25, p. 294) ed. by Damodara Gosvamin : **IJ**. II, 755 ff. Chaudhuri, **Jx**., p. 187.

Names of the Rivers and the Mountains

THE RIVERS

1. *Gaṅgā* (No. 1, L. 31, No. 13, L. 16):

In Inscription No. 1 Samudragupta's fame has been compared with the pale yellow water of the river Gaṅgā, which travelling by many paths, purifies the three worlds, flowing quickly on being liberated from confinement in the thickets of the matted hair of (the) god Paśupati.[1] In the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman and Viṣṇuvardhana[2] it is stated that when the river Gaṅgā was about to descend from heaven to earth, in order to break the force of its fall, god Śiva (Paśupati) received it in the matted hair coiled above his forehead and projecting like a horn; its waters wandered there for a thousand years, before they eventually reached the earth.

In Inscription No. 13, we get a reference to Gaṅgā in the context of Skandagupta's fight with the Hūṇas, the noise of which was heard like the roaring of (the river) Gaṅgā, making itself noticed in their ears.[3]

A. C. Woolner[4] remarked that the name Gaṅgā does not seem to have a convincing derivation on the Āryan side. But we do find the word in the Uṇādi affixes. The affix Gan comes after the root Gaṁ 'to go' and the word Gaṅgā is formed.[5]

The earliest mention of Gaṅgā is in the Ṛgveda.[6] The name also occurs in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[7] and the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.[8] We find it also in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya,[9] and in Kālidāsa's Raghuvaṁśa.[10] It is mentioned many times in the Purāṇas[11] in which a good deal of religious importance is attached to it.[12]

The Gaṅgā emerges first in the Gangotri in the district of

Garhwal and proceeds in different courses from Hardwar to Bulandshahar and from Allahabad to Rajmahal from where it enters Bengal.[13]

2. *Hacāta Gaṅga* (No. 52, L. 31) :

We find the mention of Hacāta Gaṅga in inscription No. 52, but it is difficult to identify it. It may, however, be remarked here that the word Gaṅga is to be taken in the sense of a river.[14]

3. *Jambūnadī* (No. 37, L. 17) :

Sen considers it to be the name of a river.[15] It has been described as the name of one of the seven arms of the heavenly Gaṅgā.[16] We also know of a Jambūnadī as a vīthī in the Gayā Viṣaya mentioned in the Nālandā plate of Dharmapāladeva.[17]

4. *Kālindī* (No. 18 L. 3) :

According to the inscription in the reign of Budhagupta, his feudatory, Mahārāja Suraśmicandra was governing the country lying between the river Kālindī and Narmadā.[18] Kālindī is the same as the river Yamunā.[19] The Yamunā has got its source from the Kalindadeśa, a mountainous country situated in the Bāndarapuccha range or the Himālaya and hence the river is called Kālindī.[20] In the Purāṇas we get the earlier mention of Kālindī by both the names, Kālindī as well as Yamunā.[21] The Kālindī is also mentioned in the Śiśupālavadha of Māga.[22]

5. *Narmadā* (No. 18, L. 3) :

The above-mentioned inscription describes reign of Mahārāja Suraśmicandra, a feudatory of Budhagupta, as governing over the area between the rivers Kālindī and Narmadā.[23] This is one of the earliest inscriptional references to the river Narmadā.[24] It is mentioned as Narmados by Ptolemy.[25] No express reference to the Narmadā can be traced in the Vedic literature. But the knowledge of the river is implied in the reference to a chief Revottaras mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[26] We find from the Amarakośa[27] that Revā is another name of the river Narmadā. It is likely that the name of the chief was derived from his association with the river.[28] The Raghuvaṁśa speaks of Mahiṣmatī as the capital of Anūpa on the bank of the Revā (i. e. Narmadā).[29] It has been mentioned several times in the Mahābhārata and the

Purāṇas.[30] The Viṣṇupurāṇa says that by chanting a mantra addressed to the Narmadā, one does not have any fear from serpents.[31] The river rises in the Amarakaṇṭaka mountain and falls into the Gulf of Cambay. The junction of the Narmadā with the sea is a sacred place of pilgrimage.[32] According to the Purāṇas it flows from a Ṛkṣvat (a part of the Vindhyan range) though some of them refer to it arising directly from the Vindhya itself.[33]

It is stated in the Kūrma and Matsya Purāṇas that a man who commits suicide at any tīrtha on the Narmadā or on the Amarakaṇṭaka does not return to this world.[34] Several rivers such as Kapilā, Viśalyā, Eraṇḍī, Ikṣunadī and Kāverī[35] are mentioned as falling into the Narmadā.

6. *Padmā* (No. 16, L. 5) :

The inscription No. 16 refers to a brāhmaṇa named Devaviṣṇu, who belonged to the community of Caturvedins of Padmā of the town of Indrapura.[36] The Gaṅgā is also known as Padmā or Paddā.[37] The community of the brāhmaṇas mentioned in the inscription might have lived by the side of the river. D. C. Sircar takes Padmā to be the name of a locality in the town of Indrapura.[38] The inscription (No. 16) also tells us that Skandagupta's feudatory viṣayapati Śarvanāga was governing Antarvedi or the country lying between the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā.[39]

7. *Palāśinī*[40] (No. 14, L. 16) :

This river Palāśinī issues from the mountain Raivataka. On account of the flood it had swollen. The poet, in describing the scene says that the river had gone to join the sea. Palāśinī is described as emanating from the mountain Ūrjayat (i. e. the same as Raivataka).[41] We find another Palāśinī, (mod. Parās), a tributary of the Koel in Choṭānagpur.[42] It seems that the river was decorated with numerous Palāśa (flower) trees that grew on its banks. The flowers falling in the river must have given it the name of Palāśinī.[43]

8. *Sikatā*[44] (No. 14, L. 16) :

The river Sikatā takes its source from the mountain Raivataka. It is the same as Suvarṇa-sikatā mentioned in the Junāgaṛh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman.[45] This Sikatā or Suvarṇasikatā is to be identified with modern Soṇarekhā.[46] The name

Suvaṇṇarehā (Suvarṇarekhā) is also met with in Vividhatīrthakalpa.[47] Thus the first part of the river's name has remained unchanged for about two thousand years. The second part has been replaced by a new one. The exact derivative as suggested by Chatterji will be a form like Sonasītā or Sonasī.[48] The river was named Suvarṇasikatā because its sand contains particles of gold.[49]

9. *Sindhu* (No. 20, L. 2) :

The river is mentioned in connexion with the description of the victories of king Candra who is said to have conquered the Vāhlikas after having crossed the seven mouths of the (river) Sindhu[50] in warfare. Sindhu in the Ṛgveda[51] and the Atharvaveda[52] often means simply a 'stream'. The Ṛgveda (VIII. 24.27) refers to 'Sapta Sindhavaḥ' or 'the seven rivers'.[53] But it is also [54] used in the more exact sense of the 'stream' par excellence or 'The Indus'. We get a reference to Sindhu as a river in the Amara-kośa.[55] The territories adjoining it were famous for horses[56] and salt.[57]

The term Sindhu was corrupted to Hindu in the old Persian inscriptions of Darius I (516-485 B. C.), and to Indus by the Ionian (=Pāṇini's Yavana) Greeks.[58] The word 'India' is derived from the river Sindhu or the Indus.[59] Taking its rise from the snows of Western Kailāśa in Tibet, the Sindhu first flows north-west of Kashmir and South of little Pamir, and then takes a southward course along which lay some of the important cities of north India. Emerging from the Darad high-lands, the river (Dāradī Sindhuḥ) enters the Gandhāra country until it receives its most important western tributary the Kabul river at Ohind, a few miles north of Attock.[60]

The river Sindhu is mentioned in the Purāṇas along with the Gaṅgā, Sarasvatī, Satluj, Chinab and Yamunā.[61]

Vogel suggests that the expression 'Sindhor sapta mukhāni' may indicate the 'sapta sindhavaḥ' of the Ṛgveda, i.e. the river Indus and its tributaries. The term mukha would then be not taken in the sense of 'the mouth of a river', but as meaning a river-head.[62] But the translation of the expression as done by Fleet (i. e. the seven mouths of the river Indus) is generally accepted.[63] The seven mouths of the river Indus thus represent the points of its confluence with its tributaries

and not the tributaries individually as suggested by Vogel.

10. *Sudarśana* (No. 14, L. 15 : L. 17) :
It is the name of a lake situated at some distance from Girinagara as mentioned in the Junāgaṛh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I (A.D. 150).[64] The lake was originally constructed by the Vaiśya Puṣyagupta, the provincial governor of the Maurya king Candragupta. Later on during the reign of Aśoka it was adorned with conduits, by the Yavana governor Tuṣāspha.[65] The same lake was destroyed by the excessive floods in the Suvarṇasikatā, Palāśinī and other streams arising from the mountain Ūrjayat.[66] By a breach, four hundred and twenty cubits long, just as much broad, (and) seventy-five cubits deep, all the water flowed out, so that, the lake, almost like a sandy desert became extremely ugly to look at.[67] The lake was immediately beautified with repairs by king Rudradāman.[68]

Inscription No. 14 informs us that during the reign of Gupta king Skandagupta in the year 136 (G. E.), due to heavy continuous rains the Sudarśana lake burst out on all sides[69] and had the appearance of a sea. Eventually, contrary to the literal meaning of its name the Sudarśana became ugly to look at.[70] The lake was repaired in the year 137 (G. E.)[71] (=A. D. 456) by Cakrapālita, who was appointed governor of Girinagara by his father Parṇadatta, who was Skandagupta's viceroy in Surāṣṭra.[72]

11. *Vāṭā-nadī* (No. 43, L. 22):
We get a reference to the Vāṭā-nadī in an inscription at Kalaikuri, Sultānpur near Naogaon, Rajshahi district, East Pakistan now Bangla Desh. It was flowing to the east of a village named Dhānyapāṭalikā.

'The Vāṭā nadī appears to be the modern Bārā-nai, Singra lying about 10 miles to the north-east of its junction with the Atrai.[73] It flows west to east through the southern part of the Rajshahi district.[74]

12. *Vilāsinī*[75] (No. 14, L. 16):
The river comes out from the mountain Raivataka. Fleet takes Sikatāvilāsinī as an adjective of the Palāśinī[76] but the three, Sikatā, Vilāsinī and Palāśinī seem to be separate rivers as we find the use of the plural number in the case which

denotes the mention of more than two rivers. Hence Vilāsinī is the third river in the context : the other two being Pilāśinī and Sikatā (Suvarṇasikatā).

THE MOUNTAINS

1. *Kailāśa* (No. 17, L. 6 : L. 13) :

In L. 6 of the inscription the poet while giving an account of the city of Daśapura describes its buildings as lofty like the mountain Kailāśa itself.[77] L. 13 describes the mountain Kāilaśa as one of the breasts of the earth (the other being Sumeru) which was being reigned over by the Gupta king Kumāragupta.[78]

Kailāśa mountain is situated about 25 miles to the north of Māna-sarovara beyond Gangrī and to the east of the Niti Pass.[79] The Mahābhārata[80] includes the Kumaun and Garhwal mountains in the Kailāśa range. The mountain also known as Hemakūṭa, Śaṁkaragiri and is to be identified with the Aṣṭapada mountain of the Jainas.[81] It surpasses in beauty the big Gurlā or any other of the Indian Himālaya.[82] Traditionally it is supposed to be the habitat of Śiva and Pārvatī.[83]

2. *Raivataka* (No. 14, L. 16) (the same as Ūrajayat see Ūrjayat) :

Raivataka is also mentioned in the Ādi-Parvan of the Mahābhārata,[84] the Vividhatīrthakalpa,[85] the Bṛhatsaṁhitā,[86] the Dohad Stone Inscription of Mahamūda,[87] and the Jaunpur Inscription of Iśānavarman.[88] Its modern name Girnar was a switch over to it from the city name Girinagara, i. e., 'a city on or at the foot of a hill'.[89] Raivataka derives its name from king Revata, the father of Revatī, (the wife of Baladeva, Kṛṣṇa's elder brother).[90] Revata is supposed to have come there from Dwārakā and lived on the hill. There is still a tank called Revatī-kuṇḍa near Dāmodarakuṇḍa in the gorge of the hill.[91] The Gujarati Sanskrit poet Māgha in the Śiśupālavadha devotes the whole of Canto IV (verses 1-68) to the description of the Raivataka mountain. In Canto VI (verses 1-79) the poet describes the occurrence of six seasons one by one at the mountain Raivataka.

3. *Sumeru* (No. 17, L. 13, No. 32, L. 15) :

In No. 17 the mountain Sumeru is described as one of the breasts of the earth (the other being Kailāśa) and the Gupta

king Kumāragupta is mentioned as the lord of the earth. In No. 32 it has been named as Amarabhūdhara. Its other names are Meru, Karṇikācala, Ratnasānu, Svargiri, Svargigiri and Kāñcanagiri.[92]

Sumeru is identified with Rudra Himālaya in Garhwal, where the river Gaṅgā has its source, it is near Badarikāśrama.[93] According to the Matsya Purāṇa[94] the Sumeru Parvata is bounded on the north by Uttara-Kuru, on the South by Bhāratavarṣa, on the west by Ketumāla and on the east by Bhadrāśvavarṣa.[95] It is also mentioned in the Padmapurāṇa.[96] and the Kālikāpurāṇa.[97] According to the Kālikāpurāṇa Śiva saw the summit of it. We also learn from this text that the Jambu river flows from this mountain.[98] We also find the mention of the Meru in the Śiśupālavadha of Māgha. It was on account of the eminence of Sumeru among the mountains that for praising kings they were described as 'Meru' among kings.[99] This metaphor may have been applied after the contention of the Purāṇas that the earth is supposed to be like lotus, with four Mahādvīpas as its four petals and mount Meru as its pericarp.[100]

4. *Ūrjayat* (No. 14, L. 16) :

The poet here draws a picture : the lake Sudarśana looked like the sea[101] and the rivers Palāśinī, (Suvarṇasikatā), etc., had joined it has if the mountain Ūrjayat had stretched his hand with flowers (growing on the banks of the trees and thus falling in the rivers) for sending his daughters to their worthy husband.[102] Since the rivers emerged out from the mountain Raivataka, it may be called their father as described in verse 28, but to avoid repetition the poet uses in verse 29 a synonym of its name viz., the Ūrjayat and while making it the symbal of father represents the sea as the husband of the rivers.[103] Thus the mountains Ūrjayat and the Raivataka are one and the same. We also get support for our suggestion from the fact that whereas the Junāgaṛh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman describes the emergence of the rivers Palāśinī, Suvarṇsikatā etc., from the mountain Ūrjayat[104] in Inscription No. 14 the name of Raivataka is used in the same context.[105] Fleet[106] and Sircar[107] are wrong in describing Raivataka as a hill different from Ūrjayat or Girnar situated opposite to it. The

Vividhatīrthakalpa also uses the names Raivataka and the Ujjayant (Ūrjayat) as synonyms for Girinara which was sanctified by Śrīnemi and is situated in Surāṣṭra (South Kathiawad).[108] In another inscription at Girnār (about 15th century) verses 5-8 refer to the mountain Girnār by both the names Ujjayanata and Raivata.[109] The Abhidhānacintāmaṇi of Hemacandra also mentions Ujjayanta and Raivataka as synonyms.[110] The Kap copper-plate of Keṭadi Sadāśiva-Nāyaka also refers to Ujjantagiri (Ūrjayat).[111] The mountain Ūrjayat is identified with Girnar hill near Junāgaṛh.[112] The literal meaning of Ūrjayat is strong, powerful, eminent.[113]

5. *Viṣṇupada* (No. 20, L. 6) :

We know from the inscription that a lofty standard of the divine Viṣṇu was set up on the hill called Viṣṇupada.[114] Literally meaning 'the hill marked with footprints of Viṣṇu', Viṣṇupada hill has been identified with that part of the Delhi Ridge on which the column stands.[115] But there is no mountain in Delhi and the inscription appears to have been brought there from the mount Viṣṇupada.[116] On the evidence from the Epics, this Viṣṇupada hill is not far from Kurukshetra and the Beas.[117]

REFERENCES

1. L.L. 30-31, V.9 : प्रदान-भुज-विक्रम-प्रशम-शास्त्रवाक्योदयैरुपर्य्युपरि-सञ्चयोच्छ्रित-मनेक-मार्ग्गं यशः । पुनाति भुवन-त्रयं पशुपतेर्ज्जटान्तर्गुहा-निरोध-परिमोक्ष-शीघ्रमिव पाण्डु गाङ्गं (पयः) (॥)
2. (Dx)[1], p. 152, LL. 1-3, p. 16, f.n. 3.
3. No. 13, L. 16, V. 8. The text of the words in between is damaged : हूणैर्य्यस्य समागतस्य समरे दोर्भ्यां धरा कंपिता भीमावर्त्तकरस्य......लक्ष्यत इव श्रोत्रेषु गाङ्गध्वनिः ॥
4. 'Prakrit and Non-Aryan Strata in the Vocabulary of Sanskrit' vide Kz. p. 71.
5. S.C. Basu, Og. 123 गन्गाम्यद्यो: । १।१२३
Thus Gaṅgā, 'The river Ganges (is formed)'.
6. X. 75. 5, VI. 45, 31.
7. XIII, 5, 4, 11.
8. ii, 20.
9. Kielhorn, 1,1,9, p. 436 : 1.4.2, p. 670.
10. रघुवंश IV. 73 : VII. 36 : VI. 48 ; VIII, 95 ; XIII. 57 ; XIV, 3.
11. Sircar, Oz. pp. 38-39.
12. Ibid., pp. 179-83 : Kane, (Zx)[1] Vol. IV, pp. 585-96.

13. Law, Yx. p. 78.
14. JJ. VI, p. 60, f.n. 2 :
The word gāṅg 'for rivulet' is still current in East Bengal. Cf. Sen, (Kz)[1] p. 95.
15. Ibid., p. 108.
16. Fz. p. 412, col. 3.
17. Pandey, Bg. p. 129; GJ. Vol. XXIII, pp. 290-92.
18. No. 18, LL. 2-3.
19. (Dx)[1], p. 89 : Dey, Nx. p. 85.
20. N.L. Dey, Nx. p. 85 see Kalinda-deśa.
21. Sircar, Oz. p. 39 note I, p. 40.
22. Śiśupālavadha IV. 26.
23. No. 18 LL. 2-3.
24. Kane, (Zx)[1], Vol. IV, p. 705.
25. Ibid., p. 705.
26. XII. 9.3.I.
27. अमरकोष 1/10/32 : रेवा तु नर्मदा सोमोद्भवा मेकलकन्यका ।
28. Kane, (Zx)[1], p. 703.
29. रघुवंश VI. 43.
30. Kane, (Zx)[1], Vol. IV, p. 703.
31. IV. 3. 12-13 : नर्मदायै नमः प्रातर्नर्मदायै नमो निशि ।
नमोस्तु नर्मदे तुभ्यं त्राहि मां विषसर्पतः ।।
"Salutation to Narmadā in the morning : salutation to Narmadā at night : Narmadā ? salutation to you, save me from poisonous serpents.
32. Dey, Nx. p. 138, p. 4, see Amarakaṇṭaka.
33. Sircar, Oz. pp. 49, 56 : Dey, Nx. pp. 168-69.
34. Kane, (Zx)[1] Vol. IV, p. 705.
35. Ibid.
36. No. 16, L. 5 : चेन्द्रापुरक-पद्मा-चातुर्व्विद्य-सामान्यब्राह्मणदेवविष्णुः...
See Indrapura in the place-names
37. Chatterji, Hg. Vol, I, p. 67.
38. Sircar, Hz. p. 319, f.n.9.
39. (Dx)[1], pp. 69-70 : LL. 3-4.
40. See the Appendix No. V.
41. Sircar, Hz. p. 176.
42. Law, Yx. pp. 245, 293.
43. (Dx)[1]. p. 46.
44. See the Appendix No. V.
45. Sircar, Hz. p. 176.
46. Ibid., p. 313, f.n.1 : Diskalkar, Iz. Vol. I, Pt. II, p.8.
47. Vividhatīrthakalpa p. 10 : तं जहा-उग्गसेणगढं ति वा, खंगारगढं ति वा । जुण्ण-दुग्गं ति वा । उत्तरदिसाए विसालथंभसाला-सोहिओ दसदसारमंडवो गिरिदुवारे य पंचमो हरी दामोअरो सुवण्णरेहा-नईपारे वट्टइ ।
48. Sankalia, Pz. p. 51 : also see f.n.1.
49. Ibid., p. 51, f.n. 2. : Mirat—I. Ahmadi, Supplement, 205, takes

note of this river. It says "Gold is deposited in its bed, but there is not enough to make its working profitable".

50. No. 20, L. 2 : तीर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्ज्जिता वाह्लिका,

51. i, 97, 8 : 125, 5 : ii, 11, 9 : 253-5 : iii, 53, 9 etc.

52. iii, 13.1 : iv.24, 2 : x.4.15 : xiii, 3.50 etc.

53. Law, Yx. p. 8

54. Ṛgveda 1, 122, 6 : 126.1 : iv, 54.6 : 55.3 : v.53.9 : vii, 95, 1 : viii, 12,3 : 25,14 : 20, 25 : 26, 18 : x.64,9 : Atharvaveda xii, 1,3 : xiv, 1,43, etc.—Vg. Pt. II, p. 450.

55. अमरकोष p. 100 : 1.10.35 : p. 458 : 3.3 101.

56. Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, VI. 2.15.

57. अमरकोष, p, 321 : 2.9.42.

58. Agrawala, Jy. p. 51.

59. Dey, Nx. p. 186 : Law, Yx. p. 8.

60. Agrawala, Jy. p. 44 : D.C. Gangoly, 'Yādavaprakāṣa, on the Ancient Geography of India', vide JJ. XIX, p. 217.

61. Sircar, Oz. pp. 39-40.

62. X.J. No. 22, p. 44 : Diskalkar, Iz. Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 23.

63. (Dx)[1], p. 141 : Sircar, Oz. p. 184.

64. Sircar, Hz. p. 176 :

L.I. इदं तडाकं सुदर्शनं गिरिनगराद्...।

Also see f.n. 2 : Girinagara was the name of the ancient city now represented by Jūnāgaṛh (in South Kathiawad). The Sudarśana lake was formed in the valley round the foot of the Girnar hills by an embankment across the gorge.

65. Ibid., p. 177

LL. 8-9......मौर्यस्य राज्ञः चन्द्रगुप्तस्य राष्ट्रियेण वैश्येन पुष्यगुप्तेन कारितं अशोकस्य मौर्यस्य कृते यवनराजेन तुषास्फेनधिष्ठाय प्रणालीभिरलंकृतम्।

66. Ibid., pp. 176-77, LL. 5-8

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid., pp. 179-80 : LL. 15-18

69. सुदर्शनं येन विभेद चात्वरात् from चत्वर and not suddenly अत्वरात् Cf. Sircar, Hz. p. 312 f.n. 5, which is grammatically incorrect.

70. No. 14, LL. 15-17

The account of breach given in this inscription tallies with that of the Junāgaṛh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I : Hz. pp. 176-77, LL. 5-8.

71. No. 4, LL. 19-21.

72. Ibid., LL. 8-12.

73. Sircar, Hz. p. 354.

74. Sircar. JJ. XIX, p. 20.

75. See the Appendix No. V.

76. (Dx)[1], p. 64.

77. No. 17 L.6 : कैलास-तुङ्ग-शिखर-प्रतिमानि चान्यान्याभान्ति दीर्घवलभीनि सवेदिकानि ।

78. Ibid., L. 13 :

चतुस्समुद्रान्तविलोलमेखलां, सुमेरुकैलासबृहत्पयोधराम् ।
वनान्तवान्तस्फुटपुष्पहासिनीं, कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीं प्रशासति ॥

79. LJ. 1838, p. 314.
80. Vanaparva, Ch. 144. 156.
81. Law, Yx., p. 88 : Dey, Nx. p. 83.
82. Dey. Nx. p. 82 : LJ. 1848, p. 158.
83. Law, Yx. p. 88. The Kalikāpurāṇa (Vangabasi edn.) Ch. 14.31.
84. Dey, Nx. p. 165 : Pandey, Wx. p. 96, f.n.5.
85. *Vividhatīrthakalpa*, p. 7, verse I.
86. बृहत्संहिता, XIV, V. 19.
87. GJ. XXIV, P.V. Jan. 1938, p. 216.
88. (Dx)[1]. p. 230, L. 7.
89. Sankalia, Pz. pp. 50-51: Fleet, (Dx)[1] p. 57.
90. Diskalkar, Iz. Vol. I. Pt II, p. 55 : Sankalia, Pz. p. 51.
91. Diskalkar, Iz. p. 55.
92. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, p. 234, VS. 1031-32.
93. Mahābhārata, Śānti-Parvan, chs. 335, 336 : Dey, Nx. p. 196.
94. Ch. 113.
95. Dey, Nx. pp. 196-97 ; Jx. p. 87.
96. Uttarakāṇḍa, verses 35-38.
97. Ch. 13.23, Ch. 19.92.
98. Ch. 17.10, Law, Yx. p. 129.
99. GJ. XV, p. 346, V. 19.
100. M.R. Singh, Mx. pp. 2-5.
101. No. 14, L. 18 : अम्भोनिधितुल्यदर्शनं सुदर्शनं...

Cf. Sircar, Hz. p. 176, Jūnāgaṛh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman I, L. 5 :

पर्जन्येन एकार्णवभूतायामिव पृथिव्यां कृतायां...

102. No. 14, LL. 16-17, verses 28-29.

इमाश्च या रैवतकाद्विनिर्गता [:] पलाशिनीयं सिकताविलासिनी ।
समुद्रकान्ता: चिरबन्धनोषिता: पुन: पतिं शास्त्र-यथोचितं ययु: ॥28॥
अवेक्ष्य वर्षागमजं महोद्भ्रमं महोदधेरूर्जयता प्रियेप्सुना ।
अनेक-तीरान्तज-पुष्प-शोभितो नदीमयहस्त इव प्रसरित: ॥29॥

103. Ibid., LL. 16-17, VS. 28-29.
104. Sircar, Hz. p. 176, LL. 5-6.

गिरेरूर्जयत: सुवर्णसिकता पलाशिनी-प्रभृतीनां नदीनां...।

105. Cf. No. 14, L. 16 :

इमाश्च या रैवतकाद्विनर्गता: पलाशिनीयं सिकता-विलासिनी ।

106. (Dx)[1]. p. 64, f.n. 1.
107. Sircar, Hz. p. 313, f.n.I.
108. Vividhatīrthakalpa, p. 7 :

नामभिः श्रीरैवतकोज्जयन्ताद्यैः प्रथा (या) मितम् ।
श्रीनेमिपावितं स्तौमि गिरिनारं गिरीश्वरम् ॥१॥
स्थाने देशः सुराष्ट्राख्यां बिभर्त्ति भुवनेष्वसौ ।
यद्भूमिकामिनीभाले गिरिरेष विशेषकः ॥२॥

109. D.B. Diskalkar, *Inscriptions of Kathiawad*, pp. 116 ff.

110. Abhidhānacintāmaṇi, V. 1031 : उज्जयन्तो रैवतकः ।

111. Law, Yx. p. 300 : GJ. XXIV, Pt. V, January, 1938.

112. Law, **Yx.** p. 300 : Cunningham, Sz. p. 325.

113. **Fz.** p. 221, Col. 3.

114. No. 20, L. 6 : प्रान्शुर्व्विष्णुपदे गिरौभगवतो विष्णोर्ध्वजः स्थापितः ।

115. Diskalkar, **Iz.** Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 24 : Fleet, **(Dx)**[1], p. 140.

116. M.R. Singh, **Mx.** p. 126.

117. U.N. Roy, **Lz.** pp. 21-27, : Sircar, **Hz.** p. 285, f.n.4, Cf. Mahābhārata, III, 73, 8ff : also 103 ff.

गत्वा हि श्रद्धया युक्तः कुरुक्षेत्रं कुरुद्वहः ।...ततो
गच्छेत् धर्मज्ञो विष्णोः स्थान मुत्तमम्, etc.
Ibid. III. 138, 8 :
एतद्विष्णुपदं नाम दृश्यते तीर्थमुत्तमम् ।
एषा नदी विपाशा च नदी परमपावनी ॥
Rāmāyaṇa, II. 68, 18-19 :
ययुर्मध्येन वाह्लीकान् (वाहीकान्) सुदामानञ्च पर्वतम् ।
विष्णोः पदं प्रेषमाणा विपाशां चापि शाल्मलीम् ।

CONCLUSION

We have seen from the Place-names discussed earlier that they were named either after some hero, just as Gayā from Gayāsura, Nepāla from the name of "Ne" ṛṣi, or after deities just as Piṣṭapura, named after Piṣṭapurikā goddess. Other examples are Indrapura named after God Indra, Devarāṣṭra named after some unspecified god. Some places were named after number, just as Koṭivarṣa, Pañcakulyavāpaka, Pañcanagarī. The other category of place-names includes names derived either from some natural surrounding just as Trivṛtā, having (good) surroundings on the three sides; Vaṭodaka, surrounded by water; Kṛmilā, full of kṛmis or insects; Tumbavana, abounding in Tumba plants; or from the name of a tree just as Vaṭagohālī, Palāśavṛndaka, Lavaṅgasikā (the clove tree); Eraṇḍapalla, named after Eraṇḍa plant. In some cases the names point out the geographical situation, just as Ādyapatha, Uttaramaṇḍala, Dakṣiṇāpatha, Dakṣiṇāṁśaka-vīthi, Vindhyāṭavī, Goṣāṭa-puñjaka, Airikiṇa, Saṁgohālikagrāma, Surāṣṭra, Kāñcī, Doṅgā-grāma, Samataṭa.

The place names were named after Tribes just as Puṇḍra-vardhana named after the Puṇḍras ; Vaṅga after Vaṅgas; Āryyāvarta after the Āryyas; Kākanādaboṭa after the Kākas; Mūlanāgiraṭṭa and Nāgiraṭṭamaṇḍala after the Nāgas. Some place-names seem to have been based on proper names, e.g. Midu-vilāla-kṣetra, Jolārī-kṣetra, Mahipāla-kṣetra, Pakkavilāla-kṣetra.

The second part of the geographical names is a place-name suffix which usually denotes the size or the nature of the place. The examples are the suffixes pura, pallī, rāṣṭra, rājya, Pradeśa, Deśa, Nagara, Varṣa, Viṣaya, bhukti, maṇḍala, nauyoga, patha, kṣetra, gohālī, puṣkariṇī, vīthi, pottaka, pāṭaka, pārśvika. We have found some place-names which may be categorised as the abbreviated place-names. Either

the suffix has been submerged in the name due to the prakritisation or it has been dropped. The examples are Ḍavāka, Kuṭāla, Avamukta, Nepāla, Palakka, Veṅgī, Kṛmilā, etc.

APPENDICES

[illegible] has been [illegible] in the name due to the [illegible] of it has been dropped. The examples are [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], etc.

APPENDIX—I

A NOTE ON THE KING CANDRA OF THE MEHARAULĪ IRON PILLAR INSCRIPTION

This iron pillar bearing the inscription of Candra was originally erected on a hill called Viṣṇupada near the Beas, but was brought to Meharaulī (Delhi) and was installed near the well-known Kutub Minar.[1] We also know of the transfer of the Aśokan pillars from Topra and Meerut to Delhi.[2]

Though many scholars[3] have tried to identify Candra of this inscription, it remains a baffling problem. The generally accepted view is to identify him with Candragupta II.[4]

Goyal[5] has identified Candra with Samudragupta. His argument is that the original name of the king was not Candra and in his support he quotes Fleet[6] and Allan. His second contention is that whereas there is no evidence to prove that Candragupta II had any military success in Bengal, we have a positive reference in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription to Samataṭa, Ḍavāka and Kāmarūpa as the bordering (pratyanta) states of Samudragupta's empire. Goyal further argues that Candragupta II had suzerainty over Daivaputraṣāhiṣāhānuṣāhis who ruled in that region. He also points out that Samudragupta had advanced victoriously to the south as far as Kāñcī while Candragupta II can at best be credited with matrimonial alliances or diplomatic activities alone in the South. Following Majumdar, Mookerji and Agrawala he holds that Candraprakāśa, son of Candragupta mentioned by the rhetorician Vāmana was no other than Samudragupta and thus concludes that Candra was another name of Samudragupta.

We cannot accept Goyal's view since his arguments stand on a weak edifice. We shall refute them one by one.

Fleet[7] was mislead by the reading 'Dhāvena' in line 6 which seems to be 'Bhāvena' as suggested by some scholars.

A perusal of the passage does not leave any doubt about Candra being the original name of the king. Allan followed by Goyal[8] describes it as a 'poetical allusion'. But that does not mean that the king had any name other than Candra. The poet shows that his name was quite in consonance with his qualities.[9] It is no doubt a poetic way of referring to his patron's name. We have a similar instance in the Mandasor Inscription of the Mālava Year 524 (A.D. 467).[10] Moreover, the reading in line 6 of the inscription is clearly 'Bhāvena' and not Dhāvena.[11]

We know that only a part of Bengal, i.e. Samataṭa was conquered by Samudragupta; Ḍavāka and Kāmarūpa being in Assam, their subjugation does mean the occupation of the whole of the Vaṅgas. Gupta inscriptions are recovered from Puṇḍravardhana, Damodarpur and Rajshahi districts of Bengal only after the reign of Candragupta II. Moreover, it seems that the people of Samataṭa had revolted and were joined by other neighbouring kings[12] and king Candra suppressed the revolt with his force; eventually the whole of Vaṅga may have come under his suzerainty.

These considerations apart, palaeographically also the inscription was considered by Fleet to be later than Samudragupta. Prinsep placed it in the 3rd or 4th Century and Bhau Daji in the post-Gupta period.[13] But Sircar assigns the record to the 5th century on the basis of the resemblance of the marked mātrās or horizontal top-strokes on the letters with those used in the Bilsad Inscription of Kumāragupta I (A.D. 415-16).[14] This consideration is very important, but Goyal finds it convenient not to consider it since it goes against his theory.

Moreover, if king Candra of the Meharaulī Pillar Inscription is to be identified with Samudragupta and if it is a posthumous inscription, there could be a mention of the performance of Aśvamedha sacrifice by him as is evidenced from his coins.

It is further to be noted that in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription there is no reference to the conquests of the Vāhlikas by Samudragupta, though the neighbouring tribes of the Daivaputras, Ṣāhis and Ṣāhānuṣāhis, Śakas and Muruṇḍas are mentioned as paying homage to Samudragupta. On the contrary, king Candra is said to have conquered the Vāhlikas in a warfare after crossing the seven mouths of the Sindhu.[15]

M.R. Singh[16] and U.N. Roy,[17] however, identify the Vāhlika in the Panjab and U.N. Roy goes further to identify the Vāhlikas with "Daivaputraṣāhi-ṣāhānuṣāhi" i.e. the Kidāra Kuṣāṇas. But this seems contrary to the statement in the inscription that king Chandra had conquered the Vāhlikas in warfare, after having crossed the seven mouths of the river Indus.[18]

So far as the conquests of king Candra in the South are concerned we submit that it is an eulogy (praśasti) which may be of the conventional type and may not be entirely historical. The conventional claim is repeated by some later kings.[19] In Line 5 of the Mandasor Stone Pillar Inscription we find that Yaśodharman (A.D. 525-35) boasts to have conquered the whole country to the west of the Paścima-payodhi and to the north of the Mahendra (cf. Mahendrācala in the Tirunelveli district).[20] We know that Candragupta II wielded a great influence in the south. His daughter Prabhāvatīguptā was married to the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II. There is some evidence to show that during the regency of Prabhāvatīguptā, Gupta officers exercised some control over the Vākāṭaka administration.[21] Further Candragupta II arranged a marriage between his son and the daughter of Kākutsthavarman, the most powerful ruler of the Kadamba family in the Kanarese country of the Bombay Presidency.[22]

Goyal's assumption that Candra was another name of Samudragupta is incorrect. We have criticised it earlier on linguistic and palaeographic considerations. Moreovor, it looks funny that the name of Candragupta I, his son and his grandson alike should be the same. Utilising the evidence of Vāmana that Vasubandhu was the minister of Candraprakāśa, the son of Candragupta, Goyal quotes Majumdar[23] and takes Candragupta to be Candragupta I and regards Candraprakāśa as another name of Samudragupta. But Majumdar himself strikes a note of caution when he says that "It is not altogether impossible that Vasubandhu's patron belonged to this[24] or a similar local dynasty of Ayodhyā".[25] We cannot associate Vasubandhu with the Imperial Guptas unless we find any strong evidence of a positive nature.

Thus we see that the arguments raised by Goyal do not support his view that Samudragupta is to be identified with

Candra. In the absence of any other positive evidence to the contrary, the theory of Candra's identification with Candragupta II holds good.[26]

REFERENCES

1. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 238, note 3.
2. Ibid., p. 53, note. 1.
3. Goyal, **D.** pp. 201-9.
4. Majumdar, **Pg.** pp. 168-69; Sircar, **Hz.** p. 283, note 1.
5. Goyal, **D.** pp. 201-9.
6. **(Dx)**[1], p. 142, note 2.
7. **(Dx)**[1], p. 142; also see note 2.
8. Goyal, **D.** p. 203.
9. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 284 :

   चन्द्राह्वेन समग्र-चन्द्र-सदृशीं वक्त्र-श्रियं बिभ्रता ।
10. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 406 : गुप्तान्वय--व्योमनि-चन्द्रकल्पः

    श्रीचन्द्रगुप्त-प्राथिताभिधानः ।
11. I have personally visited Meharaulī to check the reading. The letter 'bha' of 'Bhūmipatinā' is identical in form with the letter 'bha' of Bhāvena.

Sircar suggests the reading 'Devena', Devagupta being another name of Candragupta II (**Hz.** p. 285, note 2). But the view is not plausible. There was no need of mentioning the king's name again since it is mentioned as Candra in the preceding line and 'tena' refers to that. Moreover, 'bhāvena' here represents, 'devotion of the king', the translation of the whole phrase being : 'By that king Candra, having a mind full of devotion (Bhāva=bhākti-bhava) to Lord Viṣṇu, this loftystandard of Viṣṇu, was set up on the Viṣṇupada hill'.

12. Fleet, **(Dx)**[1], p. 141 : यस्योद्वर्तयतः प्रतीमुरसा शत्रून्समेत्यागतान् वङ्गेष्वाहव-वर्त्तिनो(ऽ)भिलिखिता खड्गेन कीर्त्तिर्भुजे ।

If we do the अन्वय it will run thus :

यस्य वङ्गेष्वाहव-वर्त्तिनो (revolting) शत्रून्समेत्यागतान् उरसा प्रतीपम् उद्वर्त्तयतः कीर्त्ति : खड्गेन भुजेऽभिलिखिता ।

'Whose fame of kneading back with his breast the revolting enemies in Vaṅga uniting together, was inscribed by sword on his arm'. It is a poetic way of the description of the suppression of revolt. The phrase शत्रून्समेत्यागतान् वङ्गेष्वाहव-वर्त्तिनो suggests 'the enemies in Vaṅga had revolted and had come to fight against king Candra uniting together with other neighbouring kings who might have been afraid by his increasing power. Any such revolt was possible after the death of Samudragupta. उद्वर्त्तयतः प्रतीपमुरसा suggests that king Candra himself had not gone to fight against them but he kneaded them back by the force of his breast; the description is given here metaphorically :

यस्य कीर्त्तिः खड्गेन भुजेऽभिलिखिता...।

i.e., 'on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword'. It is also a poetic way of describing the victory meaning thereby 'who had won the battle by the force of sword in his hand'. Or it may even suggest that he had won in the battle but his arm was injured which is as if it was a fame inscribed on his arm by the sword. It was considered a matter of pride for the commanders and kings to have scars of wounds in battle on the parts of their bodies.

13. Sircar, **Hz**. p. 283, note 2.
14. Ibid.
15. Fleet, (**Dx**)[1], p. 141.

'तीर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्ज्जिता: वाह्लिका' ।

Fleet seems to have wrongly translated this line as 'he, by whom having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the (river) Sindhu, the Vāhlikas were conquered'.

If we do the अन्वय it will be like this:—

'येन सिन्धो: सप्तमुखानि तात्वा वाह्लिका समरे जिता: ।

i.e., 'by whom after crossing the seven mouths of the river Indus, the Vāhlikas were conquered in warefare'. The king had not to fight for crossing the seven mouths of the Indus since the inhabitants of this place were already conquered by Samudragupta and were ruling in obeisance to the Guptas.

16. M.R. Singh, **Mx**. pp, 126-27.
17. U.N. Roy, **Lz**. pp. 21-22.
18. See note 15.
19. Sircar, **Hz**. p. 284, f.n.1.
20. Sircar, **Hz**. p. 419, see also f.n. :

आ लौहित्योपकण्ठात्तलवन-गहनोपत्यकादा महेन्द्रादागङ्गाश्लिष्टासनोस्तुहिनशिखरिण-पश्चिमादा: पयोधे: ।

21. R.C. Majumdar, **Pg**. p. 112, see also f.n.I.
22. Ibid., p. 170.
23. Goyal, **D**. p. 209.
24. A king named Bālāditya has been mentioned in an inscription found at Sārnāth (**Dx**)[1], p. 284.
25. Majumdar, **Pg**. pp. 155-56, f.n. 2.
26. For various theories and identification with Candragupta II, see G.R. Sharma, **JJ**. Vol. XXI, No. 4, December 1945, p. 202 ff.

APPENDIX–II

A NOTE ON THE NAME OF THE MOTHER OF BUDHAGUPTA AND NARASIṀHAGUPTA

In this connexion we have four inscriptions at our disposal:

(i) Nālandā Clay Seal of Narasiṁhagupta (No. 47)

(ii) Bhitari inscribed copper-silver Seal of Kumāragupta III (No.49).

(iii) Nālandā baked Clay Seal of Kumāragupta III (No. 50.)

(iv) Nālandā Clay seal of Budhagupta (No. 53).

In No. 49, L. 6, Sircar[1] takes the reading Candradevī for the mother of Narasiṁhagupta. It has been read as 'Śrīvatsa-devī' by Fleet. It has been checked by me and the reading taken by Fleet is found to be correct. The same reading is also found in No. 50, L.6.[2]

In No. 47, L.7, Candradavī is found to be the name of Narasiṁhagupta's mother. Hirananda Shastri reads the name as 'Śrīvainyadevī' but he amends the reading as 'Candradevī'.[3] Sircar also accepts 'Candradevī' as the correct reading.[4]

In No. 53 Candradevī is mentioned as the mother of Budhagupta.[5] But Sircar takes the reading 'Śrī Mahādevī' though himself considers it to be doubtful.[6]

Now we find that the inscriptions No. 49 and 50 mention 'Śrīvatsadevī' as the mother of Narasiṁhagupta while in No. 47 Candradevī is clearly the name of Narasiṁhagupta's mother. In No. 53 'Candradevī' is also mentioned as the name of Budhagupta's mother.

These different readings have created a confusion about the names of Budhagupta's and Narasiṁhagupta's mothers. In the genealogical table Mookerji mentions 'Candradevī' as the mother of both Budhagupta and Narasiṁhagupta.[7] Sircar writes, "We cannot be sure about the name of Budhagupta's mother; but she seems to be different from Candradevī, mother

of Narasiṁhagupta".[8] But the objection of Sircar is not valid, as in the inscriptions No. 49 and 50 Śrīvatsadevī and not Candradevī is mentioned as the mother of Narasiṁhagupta.

The real difficulty is created by inscriptions No. 47 and 53 when they mention Candradevī as the mother of both Budhagupta and Narasiṁhagupta.

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1. Sircar, Hz. p. 330; also see f.n. 3.
2. XJ. No. 66, p. 66, see the plates attached in the last portion of the Journal; Plates VIII (c) and (d).
3. Ibid., p. 65.
4. JJ. XIX, p. 273; Hz. p. 339, f.n. 3.
5. XJ. No. 66, p. 65; The reading has been checked by me in Plates VIII (B) and VIII (C) affixed at the last portion of the Journal.
6. JJ. XIX, p. 273; Hz. p. 339.
7. Mookerji, Ag. pp. 104-105.
8. JJ. XIX, p. 274.

APPENDIX—III

EXPLANATION OF THE PASSAGE "PAIṢṬAPURAKA-MAHENDRAGIRI-KAUṬṬŪRAKA-SVĀMIDATTA"

This expression occurs in L. 19 of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. The compound expression has been analysed in different ways by various scholars.

Fleet splits it up as :

Paiṣṭapuraka--Mahendragiri-Kauṭṭūraka--Svāmidatta[1] . and translates it as Mahendra of Piṣṭapura, Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra on the hill.[2]

The first inclination of Fleet[3] is to analyse the expression thus : 'Paiṣṭapuraka-Mahendragiri-Kauṭṭūraka-Svāmidatta' and to translate it as 'Mahendragiri of Piṣṭapura, and Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra', but he does not stick to it finding difficulty in accepting giri or gīr as suitable termination for a king's name, thinking it only to be used as a religious title.[4]

G. Ramdas[5] takes the whole phrase to be one and translates it as 'Svāmidatta, who had his seat at Piṣṭapura and at Koṭṭūra near Mahendragiri'. This means that Svāmidatta was the king of both the places. Ramdas supports it by the fact that in inscriptions we often find the king of Piṣṭapura to have been the king of Kaliṅga also in which Koṭṭūra is situated. He also does not accept the name Mahendragiri as of a king, it being unsupported by history or inscriptions. Bhau Daji[6] gives another rendering 'Svāmidatta of Piṣṭapura, Mahendragiri, and Koṭṭūra'. But the suggestions of Bhau Daji and G. Ramdas are untenable, because in that case the reading in the text, would have been 'Māhendragirika' in place of Mahendragiri.

As regards the objection that the termination giri or gīr is used only for Gosāvīs and not for kīngs, even in ancient India we find people bearing such names as Himādri, Hemādri and

Śeṣādri[7] as well as the name Siṁhagiri,[8] all based on terms signifying mountain.

As rightly pointed out by Bhandarkar,[9] in dividing the text, the following two considerations are to be kept in view:

(i) None of the king's name is coupled with more than one locality.

(ii) The name of every locality is marked with vṛddhi at the beginning and with the suffix 'ka' at the end.

Thus the only correct division of the text can be :— Paiṣṭapuraka--Mahendragiri--Kauṭṭūraka--Svāmidatta'.[10] i. e. Mahendragiri of Piṣṭapura and Svāmidatta of Koṭṭūra.

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1. Fleet , (Dx)[1], p. 7.
2. Ibid., p. 13.
3. Ibid., p. 7, f.n. 2.
4. Ibid.
5. **JJ.** I., p. 680.
6. **QJ.** vol. IX, p. CXCVIII.
7. **IJ.** vol. II, pp. 761-62.
8. **GJ.** vol. II, p.105, No. 77; and p. 371, No. 134.
9. D.R. Bhandarkar, "Mahendragiri, ruler of Piṣṭapura", **IJ.** Vol. II, pp. 761-62.
10. Ibid, see Bhandarkar's remarks :

"The vṛddhi in Kauṭṭūraka clearly shows that the word giri preceding it is to be connected with Mahendra. Again, if giri had really formed part of the name of the country whose ruler Svāmidatta was, we shall have had Gairikoṭṭūraka instead of giri-kauṭṭūrka. Secondly, it is not necessary to take giri here as a denominational suffix similar to that of giri or gīr of Gosāvīs, as Fleet has done. It is best to understand the whole of Mahendragiri as one name and as the proper name of the ruler of Piṣṭapura. If the names of the sacred rivers have been adopted as individual names among Hindu females, the names of the sacred mountains have similarly been adopted among Hindu males";

Cf. D.B. Diskalkar, **Iz.** vol. 1, part II, pp. 35-36; who also very strongly supports Bhandarkar.

APPENDIX—IV

EXPLANATION OF THE EXPRESSION "DAIVAPUTRAṢĀHIṢĀHĀNUṢĀHI"

Scholars do not agree in their views about the explanation of the expression 'Daivaputraṣāhiṣāhānuṣāhi' mentioned in line 23 of Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta. Daivaputras along with Ṣāhis, Ṣāhānuṣāhis, Śakas, and Muruṇḍas, and the people of Siṁhala and all (other) islands are said to have acknowledged the suzerainty of Samudragupta by rendering to him all kind of service (sevā) such as coming to the emperor personally (ātmanivedana) gifts of maidens (Kanyopāyana), presents (dāna) and application (yācanā) for charters bearing the Imperial Gupta Garuḍa seal (Garutmadaṅka) by which they would not be disturbed in the enjoyment (bhukti) and administration (śāsana) of their respective territories (svaviṣaya).[1]

Fleet, V.A. Smith and Allan split 'daivaputra-ṣāhi-ṣāhānuṣāhi' into three different titles denoting three different princes,[2] who might have been rulers of three smaller states into which the Kuṣāṇa empire was divided, each one of them appropriating one of the titles for himself.[3] But Majumdar,[4] Bhandarkar,[5] Sircar[6] and Raychaudhuri[7] take 'Daivaputra-ṣāhi-ṣāhānuṣāhi' to indicate one Kuṣāṇa ruler.

Goyal[8] raises the objection that there was no Kuṣāṇa ruler so powerful in the third quarter of the fourth century A.D., to whom could be attributed such a great title as 'daivaputraṣāhiṣāhānuṣāhi'. He divides the whole expression into two parts 'daivaputraṣāhi' and 'ṣāhānuṣāhi' to denote two powers. According to him, the former is to be identified with the Kidāra Kuṣāṇa king and the latter with Shāhpur II, the Sassanian śāhānśāh. His contention is that the word Devaputra has not been used as a title, its taddhita form shows that it is an adjective to the next word ṣāhi.

Buddha Prakash[9] gives new suggestion that the whole expression 'daivaputraṣāhiṣāhānuṣāhi' denotes a Persian king. His assertion is that the Kuṣāṇas had lost their importance and independence by that time by allying themselves with the Persians; this is clear from Kālidāsa, who in referring to the North-Western conquests of Raghu, does not mention the Śakas but refers only to the Persians.[10] Moreover, in the Kuṣāṇa records Ṣāhānuṣāhi has never been used as the imperial title of the Kuṣāṇas and has been a title exclusively employed by the Sassanian sovereigns. He thus takes 'devaputra' to stand for the Kuṣāṇa king of the Indus valley and Kasmeremaṇḍala and Ṣāhānuṣāhi for the Sassanian emperor Shāhpur II (A.D. 309-379) and concludes that, the mention of 'devaputraṣāhānuṣāhi' together suggests an alliance of the Kuṣāṇas with the Sassanians, cemented by the marriage between the Kuṣāṇa princes and Hormizd II (A.D. 302-309).[11]

The contention of Dr. Buddha Prakash is unacceptable. He neglects the word 'Ṣāhi' occurring between Daivaputra and Ṣāhānuṣāhi. Moreover, he takes into his account the word 'Devaputra' but does not consider the form of Daivaputra.[12] It may be noted that the word 'Shāhi' has been indiscriminately used by the Kuṣāṇas, the Hūṇas and by the kings of Kabul, Turks as well as Hindu kings of the brāhmaṇa clan.[13]

The suggestion of Goyal may likewise be dismissed. In interpreting the expression we have to keep in our view the following considerations :

(i) It is to be noted that 'Daivaputra' in itself is an independent word and its taddhita form denotes those 'who belong to Devaputra', i.e. Kaniṣka[14] (The Kuṣāṇas used Devaputra as their title).

(ii) Ṣāhi stands for the Persians or a sub-branch of the Kuṣāṇas;[15] and

(iii) Ṣāhānuṣāhi for the Sassanians.

Moreover, the context does not suggest any particular reference to any king by name. Here we have an enumeration of tribes, viz., the Daivaputras, the Ṣāhis, the Ṣāhānuṣāhis, the Śakas and the Muruṇḍas.[16]

From the Jain legend *Kālakācāryakathānaka* we know : "The Śaka king who lived on the other side of the Indus used

the title Ṣāhānuṣāhi, while his feudatories were simply styled Ṣāhis"[17] Chattopadhyaya states that the Śakas never used the title of Ṣāhānuṣāhi which was mainly a Kuṣāṇa title. Whatever, may be the truth, but it supports our assertion that the Ṣāhis and the Ṣāhānuṣāhis were two separate entities and not one. From the study of *Kushano-Sassanian Coins*, we know that these are the money of the Sassanid prince-governors of Bactria, who bore the title Kuṣānshāh.[18] It is possible that these Sassanians who had submitted to Samudragupta; might have reared their head after his death and were later subjugated again by Candragupta II, if we believe the evidence of the Meharaulī Iron Pillar Inscription of Candra is relegated to Candragupta II.

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1. No. 1, LL. 23-24; दैवपुत्रषाहिषाहानुषाहि-शक मुरूण्डैः सैंहलकादिभिश्च सर्व्व-द्वीप-वासिभिरात्मनिवेदन-कन्योपायन-दानगरुत्मदंकस्वविषय-भुक्तिशासन-याचनाद्युपाय-सेवाकृत......।
2. Pandey, **Wx.** p. 75, f.n. 4; Fleet, **(Dx)**[1], p. 14.
3. Majumdar, **Pg.** p. 147.
4. Ibid.
5. **JJ.** I., p. 259 : 'It is forgotten, that the initial word is not 'Devaputra, but Daivaputra' a taddhita form, which shows that the term cannot stand by itself and must be taken along with what follows. The whole expression corresponds with the full royal insignia 'Daivaputra-mahārāja-rājātirāja' of the later great Kuṣāṇas.
6. Sircar, **Hz.** p. 266, f.n.l.
7. Raychaudhuri, **Az.** p. 460
8. Goyal, **D.** 176-77.
9. **IJ.** Vol. XIII, p. 85, 'The political Geography of India on the eve of Gupta Ascendency', pp. 85-90.
10. Raghuvaṁśa,IV 60.
11. Buddha Prakash, IJ. Vol. XIII, p.85.
12. P.L. Gupta, **Sx.** pp. 267-69; D.B. Pandey, **Ng.** pp. 46-49 and 52.
13. D.B. Pandey, **Ng.** pp. 46-48.
14. **Jz.** p. 60, Pāṇini, 4/1/85
15. H.C. Raychaudhuri, **Az.** (ed. 1972), p. 408; D.C. Sircar, **Hz.** pp. 138-39.
16. No. 1, LL. 23-24 : दैवपुत्रषाहिषाहानुषाहि-शकमुरुण्डैः सैंहलकादिभिश्च सर्व्वद्वीप-वासिभिः...।
17. Sudhakar, Chattopadhyaya, **Hx.** 70.
18. **Mg.** p. 81

APPENDIX—V

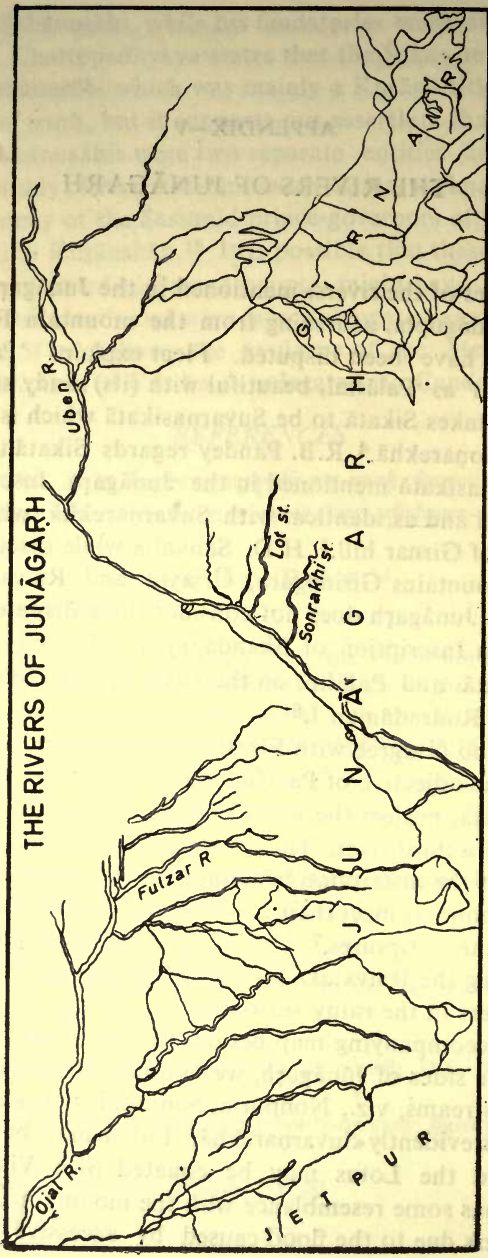
THE RIVERS OF JUNĀGAṚH

The names of the rivers, mentioned in the Junāgaṛh Inscription of Skandagupta, as issuing from the mountain Raivataka[1] or Ūrjayat[2] have been disputed. Fleet explains 'Palāśinīyam Sikatāvilāsinī' as 'Palāśinī, beautiful with (its) sandy stretches'.[3] D.C. Sircar takes Sikatā to be Suvarṇasikatā which is the same as modern Soṇarekhā.[4] R.B. Pandey regards Sikatā to be the same Suvarṇasikatā mentioned in the Junāgaṛh Inscription of Rudradāman and as identical with Suvarṇarekhā which flows at the foot of Girnar hill.[5] H.D. Sankalia while discussing the names of mountains Girinagara, Ūrjayat and Raivataka, and the rivers at Junāgaṛh does not consider these disputed lines of the Junāgaṛh Inscription of Skandagupta. He only discusses Suvarṇasikatā and Palāśinī on the basis of the Junāgaṛh Inscription of Rudradāman I.[6]

Those who disagree with Fleet's interpretation that 'Sikatāvilāsinī' is an adjective of Palāśinī and take Sikatā to refer to Suvarṇasikatā, neglect the word Vilāsinī. Evidently Vilāsinī is the name of a third river. The construction is also in plural. The composer of the inscription is naming all the rivers of the area which had gone to meet their husband, the ocean, in due accordance with the scriptures.[7] The Gujarati Sanskrit poet Māgha, in describing the Raivataka mountain gives a similar account of these rivers in the rainy season.[8]

In the accompanying map besides the two rivers Ojat and Uben on the sides of Jūnāgaṛh, we find the river Fuljar and a number of streams, viz., Nonpuria, Sonrakhi, Lotus and Fuljar. Sonrakhi is evidently Suvarṇarekhā, Fuljar may be the river Palāśinī and the Lotus may be equated with Vilāsinī. The river Ojat has some resemblance with the mountain Ūrjayat.

The rivers due to the flood caused by excessive rains had


THE RIVERS OF JUNĀGARH
Uben R.
Lot st.
Sonrakhi st.
Fulzar R
Ojat R.
GIRNAR
JUNĀGARH
JETPUR

combined into one; with the flowers fallen from trees growing on the banks of these rivers, it looked as if a hand decorated with flowers was stretched by the mountain Raivataka desirous of appropriating the wives of the mighty ocean, having noticed the great bewilderment of the Sea caused by the excess of rain.[9] Fleet's rendering of the passage[10] does not seem to be appropriate. The line 'aneka-tīrāntaja-puṣpa-śobhito nadīmayo hasta iva prasāritaḥ' shows that here is a reference to a group of many rivers and not to one river alone.

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1. Sircar, **Hz**. p. 313.
   L. 16 : इमाश्च या रैवतकाद्विनिर्गता:
   पलाशिनीयं सिकता-विलासिनी ।
2. Ibid., p. 176.
   LL. 5-6 : गिरेरूर्जयत: सुवर्णसिकता-पलाशिनी-प्रभृतीनां नदीनां......।
3. (**Dx**)[1], p. 64.
4. Sircar, **Hz**. p. 313, f.n.l.
5. Pandey, **Wx**. p. 97, f.n.l.
6. Sankalia, **Pz**. pp. 50-51.
7. Sircar, **Hz**.
   L. 16 : इमाश्च या रैवतकाद्विनिर्गता:
   पलाशिनीयं सिकता-विलासिनी ।
   समुद्रकान्ता: चिरबन्धनोषिता:
   पुन: पतिं शास्त्र-यथोचितं ययु: ॥
8. Śiśupālavadha, IV. 47.
9. Sircar, **Hz**. p. 313.
   v. 29 : अवेक्ष्य वर्षागमजं महोद्भ्रमं,
   महोदधेरूर्जयता प्रियेप्सुना ।
   अनेकतीरान्तज-पुष्पशोभितो,
   नदीमयहस्त इव प्रसारित: ॥
10. (**Dx**)[1], p. 64. "(and) having noticed the great bewilderment caused by the excess of rain, (the mountain) Ūrjayat, desirous of appropriating the wives of the mighty ocean, stretched forth as it were a hand, consisting of the river (Palāśinī), decorated with the numerous flowers that grew on the edges of (its) banks."

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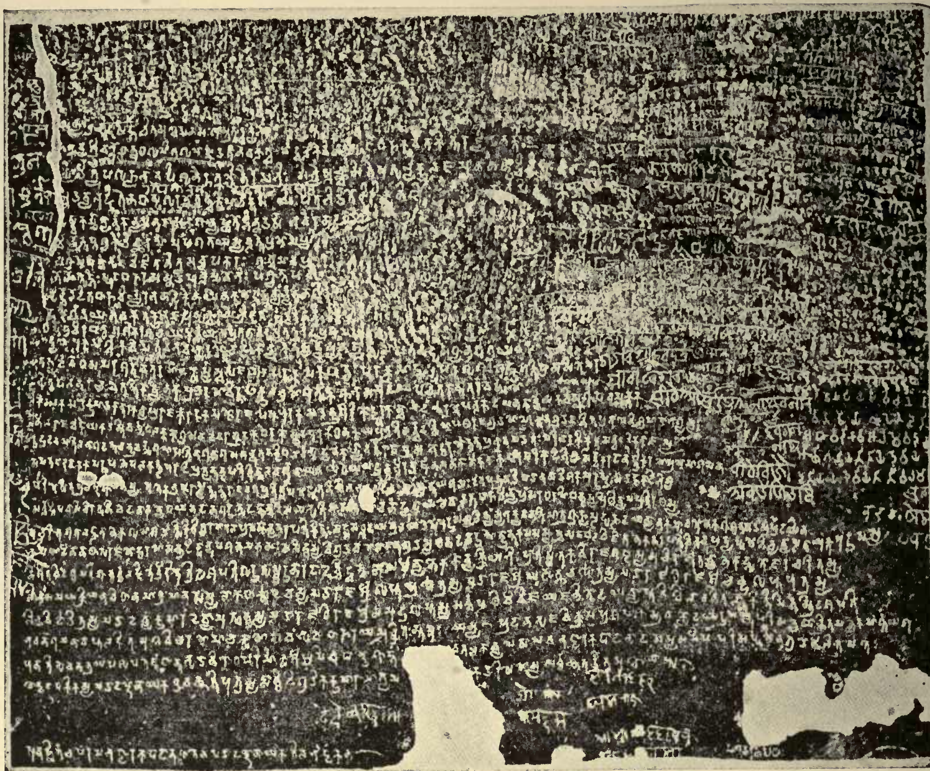
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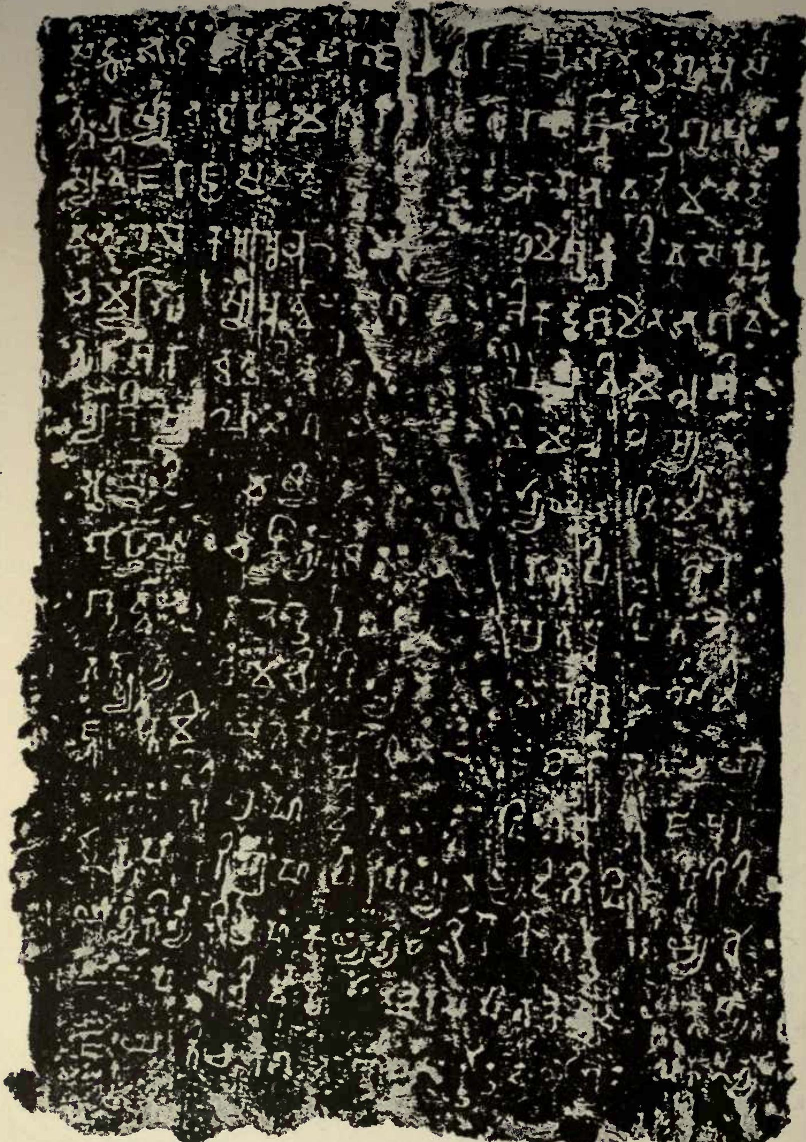
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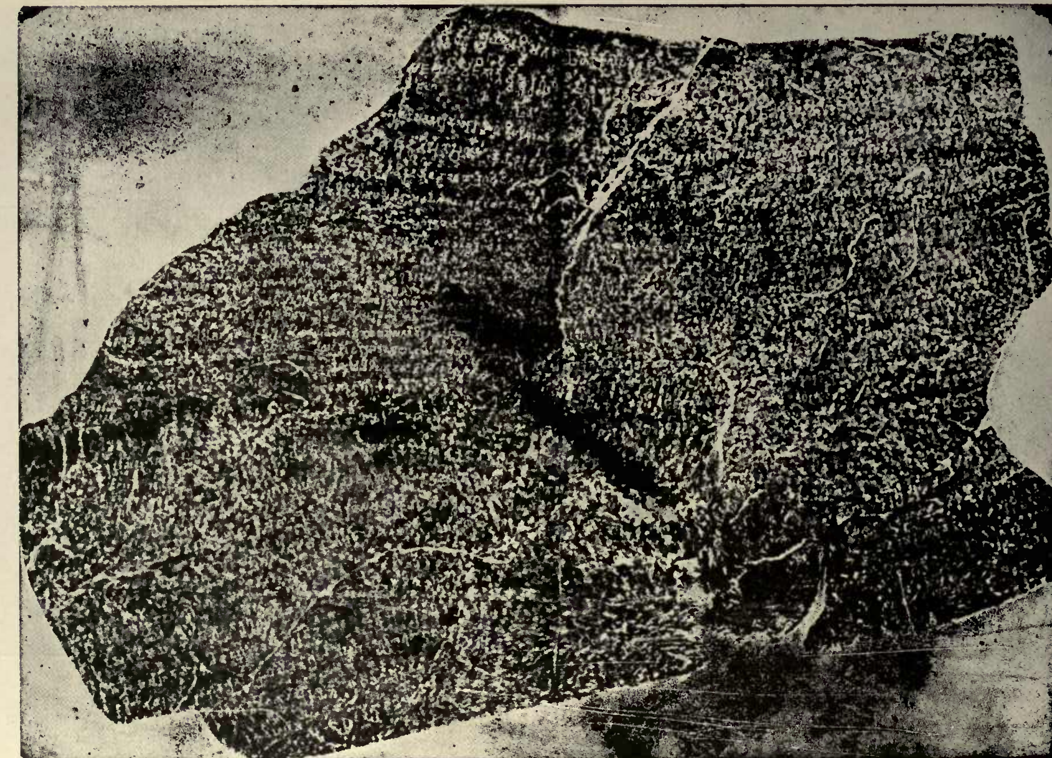
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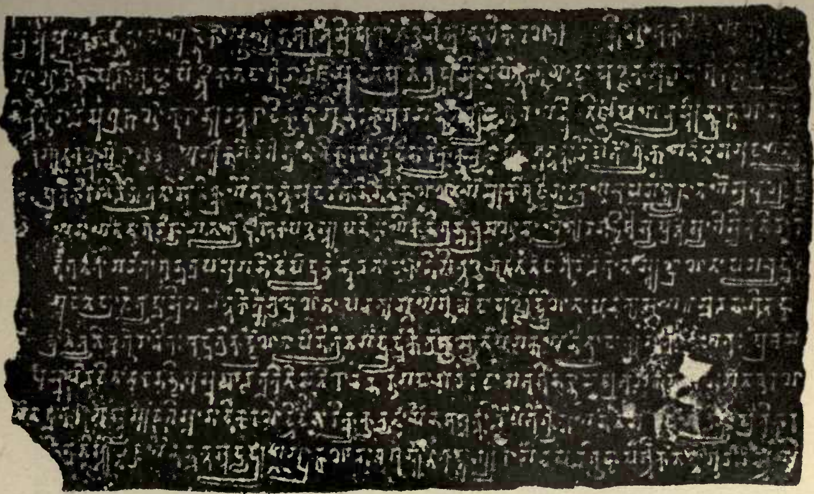
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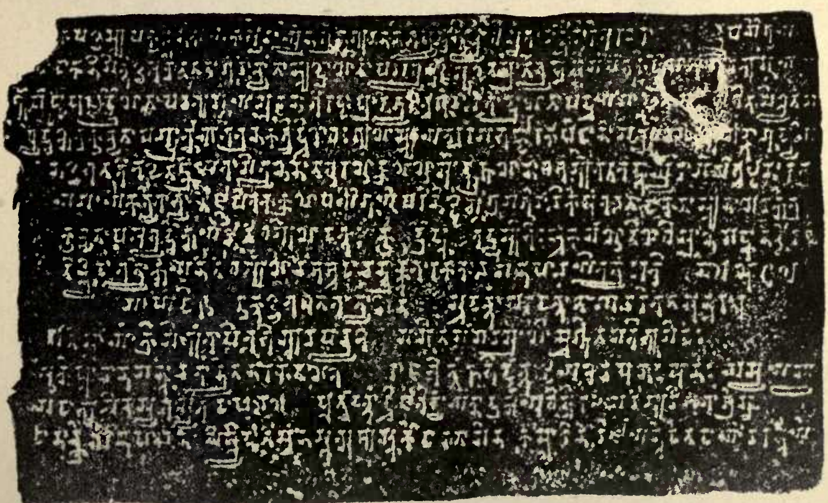
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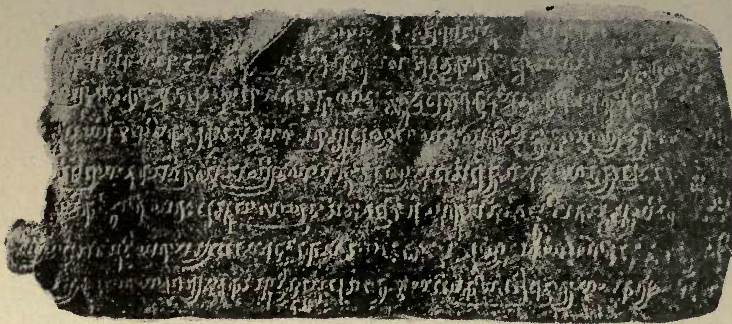
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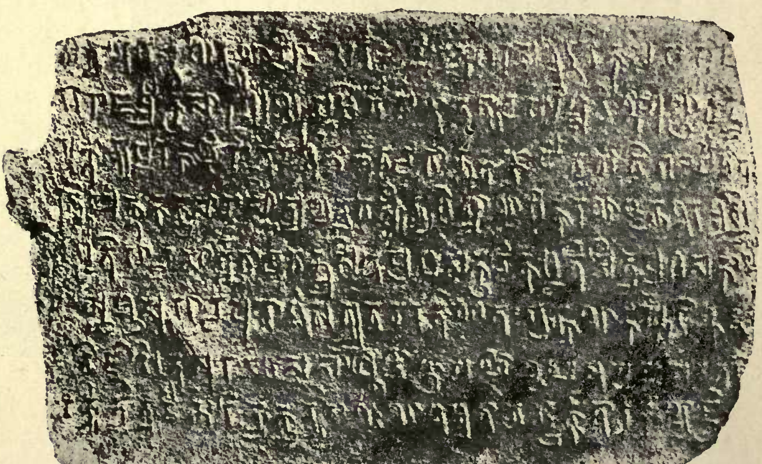
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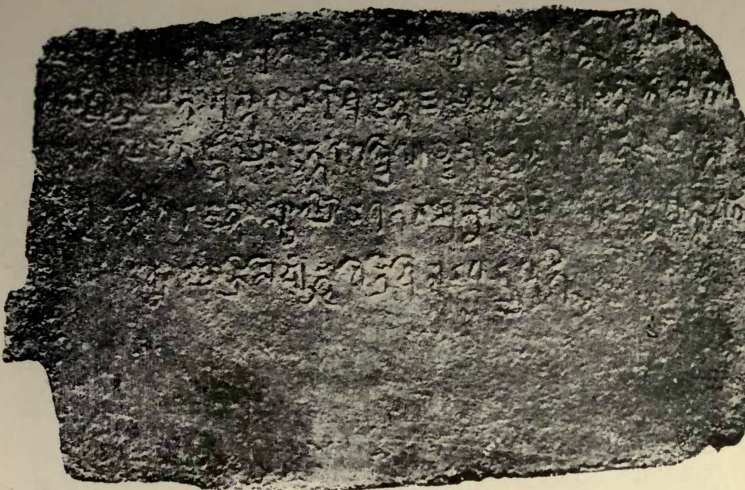
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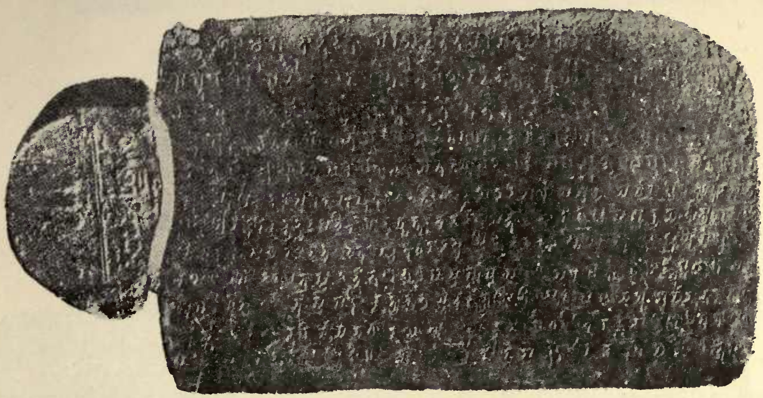
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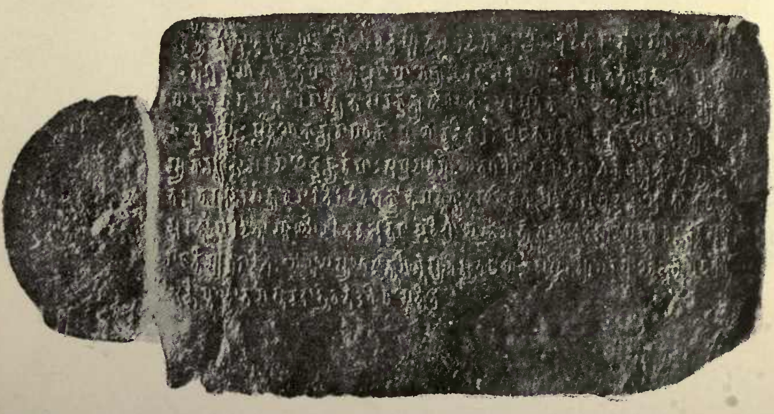
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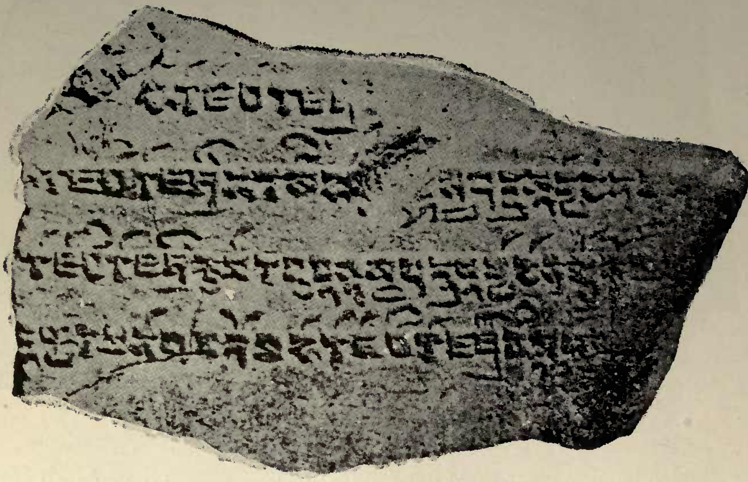


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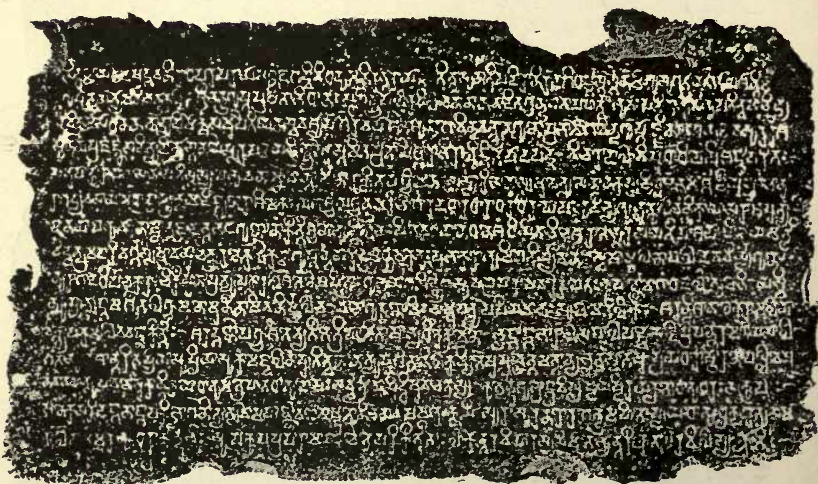


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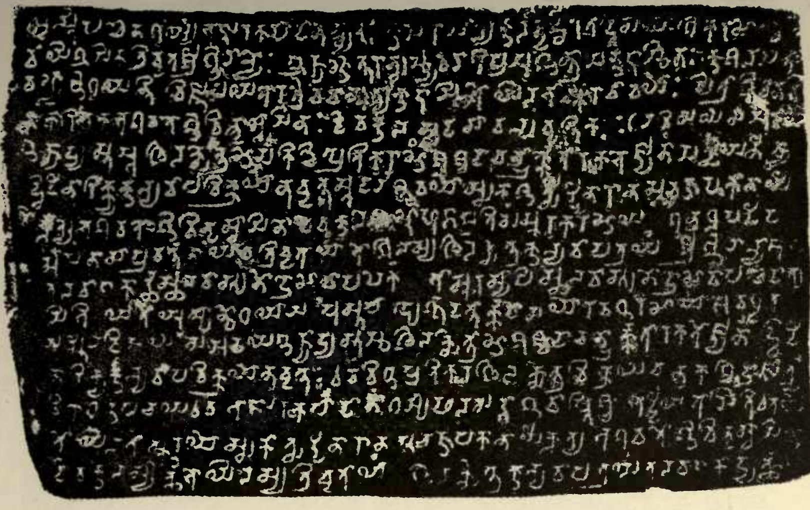




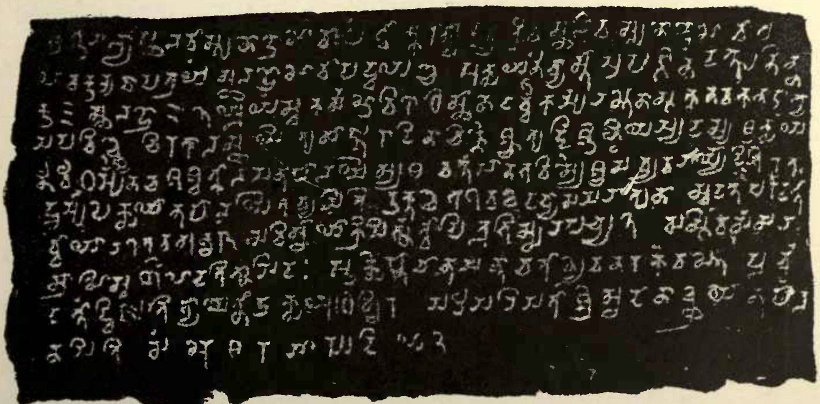
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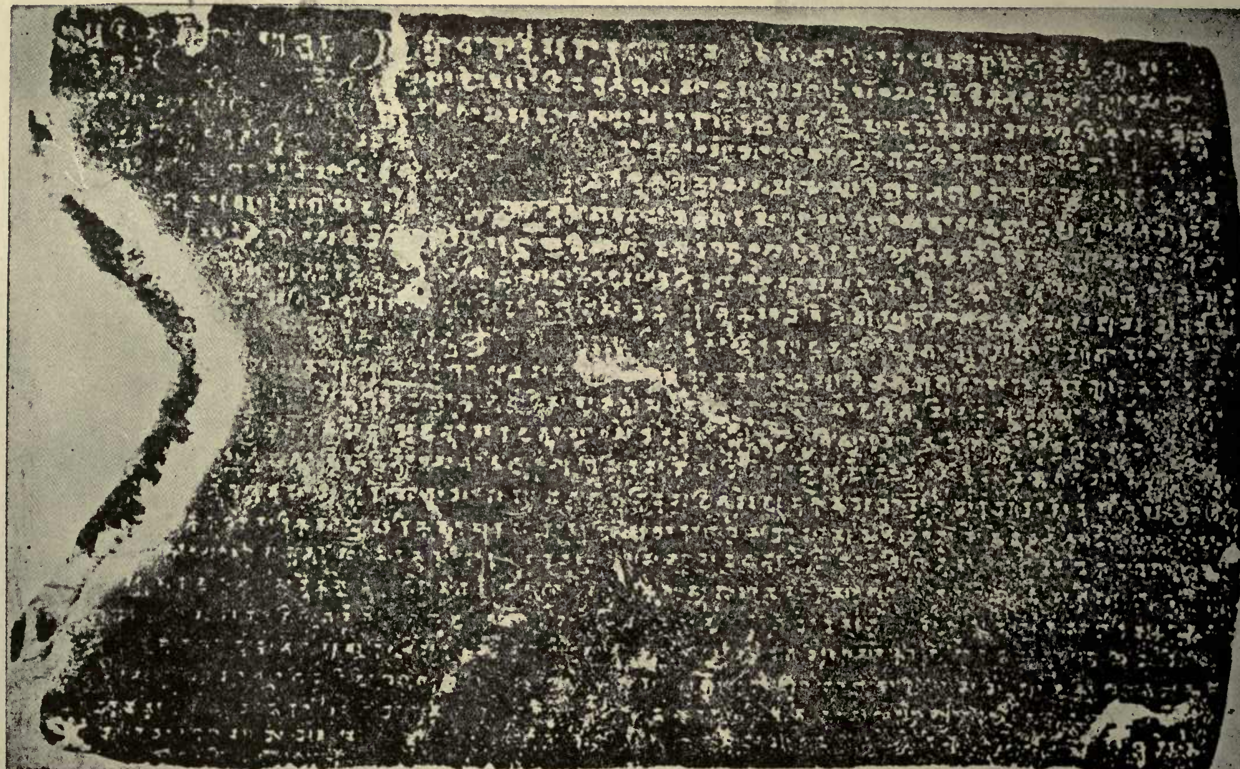
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